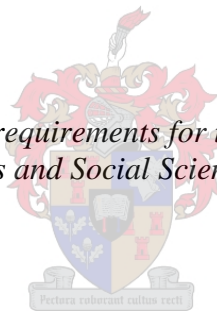# Women's Attitudes toward Gender Equality and Culture: The Influence of Urbanisation and Education

By

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

March 2021

Abstract

This research investigates gender equality. Gender equality is a globally pressing problem and it is put under pressure by a number of factors. This study will highlight how culture challenges principles of gender equality. The debate regarding culture and gender equality is centred on women's rights. While multiculturalism is encouraged by a range of scholars, it has also come under scrutiny because of the perception that some cultural practices infringe on the rights of women and girl children. However, understanding multiculturalism in post-colonial societies is more complex. African customary law plays an important role in the lives of black South Africans, yet, it cannot be ignored that some cultural traditions undermine gender equality. Resolving multicultural conflict is difficult in a country like South Africa, where legal pluralism exists, and where customary law is made subordinate to the Constitution that equally protects gender equality and the right to culture.

In their investigation of the rising tide of gender equality and culture, Inglehart and Norris (2003) conclude that glacial shifts are occurring in post-industrial democracies which see a move away from traditional values towards more secular-rational and emancipative values. As South Africa is continuously modernising and industrialising, this study sought to highlight the effects thereof on attitudes. This study seeks to explore women's attitudes toward gender equality and culture based on their urban-rural locality and level of education in South Africa. This study hypothesises that urban women are more likely to demonstrate support for gender equality while rural women who are embedded in traditional contexts will show greater support for cultural traditions. Furthermore, this study also hypothesises that women with higher levels of education, who have come to embrace individualistic and emancipative values therefore will show higher levels of support for gender equality.

Overall, the data revealed that culture is important to an overwhelming majority of South African women. This is attributed to the colonial and Apartheid history which have reinforced culture and tradition. However, urbanisation and level of education significantly influences women's attitudes toward gender equality. It was concluded that rural women who have deep traditional roots tend to be more sympathetic toward cultural practices even though it sometimes conflicts with principles of gender equality, while urban women are less tolerant of cultural traditions which undermine women's rights. However, for urbanisation it is important to consider the notion of hybridity as the data revealed that women tend to live hybrid lives, as rural and urban women supported gender equality and cultural traditions to some extent. Furthermore, education proved to have a strong influence on women's attitudes. The data

revealed that better educated women challenge gender stereotypes and are also less accepting of cultural traditions which do not treat men and women as equal, while less educated women are more tolerant of cultural practices which conflict with women's rights. Therefore, urbanisation and education significantly influences women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture which may influence policy in South Africa.

Opsomming

Hierdie navorsing ondersoek geslagsgelykheid. Gebrek aan geslagsgelykheid is wêreldwyd 'n probleem. Dit word onder druk gesit deur verskeie faktore. Hierdie studie toon hoe kultuur beginsels van geslagsgelykheid uitdaag. Die debat rakende kultuur en geslagsgelykheid het hoofsaaklik te doen met vroueregte. Alhoewel multikulturalisme deur baie aangemoedig word, word dit ook deur baie gekritiseer. Dit is omdat die waardes van sommige kulture inbraak maak op die regte van vroue en dogters. Om multikulturalisme in post-koloniale lande te verstaan is egter kompleks. In Afrika speel gewoontereg 'n belangrike rol in die lewens van swart Suid Afrikaners, maar dit kan nie geignoreer word dat party kulturele tradisies die beginsels van geslagsgelykheid ondermyn nie. Om multikulturele konflik in 'n land soos Suid-Afrika op te los is moeilik omdat daar regspluralisme is en waar, die Grondwet beide geslagsgelykheid en die reg tot kultuur beskerm.

In hulle ondersoek na die geslagsgelykheid en kultuur vind Inglehart en Norris (2003) dat daar tans verskuiwings in post-industriële demokrasieë plaasvind. Dus is daar 'n beweging weg van tradisionele waardes na meer sekulêr-rasionele waardes toe. Gesien in die lig daarvan dat Suid-Afrika moderniseer en industrialiseer wil hierdie studie graag die effekte daarvan op houdings en persepies uitwys. Omdat, vrouregte sentraal staan in die kultuur/regte debat, ondersoek hierdie studie spesifiek die houding van vroue teenoor geslagsgelykheid en kultuur in Suid-Afrika, op grond van hul stedelike-landelike ligging en vlakke van onderrig. Die hipoteses van hierdie studie is dat stedelike vroue meer onderstening vir geslagsgelykheid sal bied, terwyl, plattelandse vroue wat in 'n meer tradisionele konteks ingebed is groter ondersteuning van kulturele waardes en tradisies sal toon. Nog 'n belangrike hipotese in hierdie studie is dat, vroue met hoër onderrigvlakke meer progressiewe waardes sal hê en dus sal hulle die belangrikheid van geslagsgelykhied beklemtoon, eerder as om kulturele tradisies wat die regte van vroue oortree te aanvaar.

Die data wys dat kultuur belangrik is vir 'n groot meederheid van Suid-Afrikaanse vroue. Dit word toegeskryf aan die koloniale en Apartheid geskiedenis wat kultuur en tradisie versterk het. Maar verstedeliking en onderrigvlakke het 'n sterk invloed op vroue se houdings teenoor geslagsgelykhied en kultuur. Daar is tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat plattelandse vroue inderdaad diep tradisionele wortels het en dus is hulle geneig om kulturele tradisies te aanvaar, alhoewel dit party keer in konflik is met die beginsels van geslagsgelykheid. In kontras, was stedelike vroue minder verdraagsaam teenoor kulturele tradisies wat vroueregte oortree. Vir verstedeliking is dit belangrik om die konsep van hibriditeit in ag te neem omdat

die data wys dat plattelandse en stedelike vroue kulturele tradisies en geslagsgelykheid tot 'n sekere mate ondersteun. Verder het opvoedingsvlakke 'n groot impak op vroue se houdings gehad. Die data beklemtoon dat vroue met hoër vlakke van onderrig geslagstereotipes uitdaag en ook minder verdraagsaam is teenoor kulturele tradisies wat mans en vroue nie as gelyk beskou nie. Vroue met laer vlakke van onderrig toon meer ondersteuning vir kulturele tradisies, alhoewel dit in konflik is met vroueregte. Dus het verstedeliking en opvoeding 'n groot invloed op vroue se houdings teenoor geslagsgelykhied en kultuur. Dit is belangrik om in ag te neem omdat dit beleidsinvloed in Suid-Afrika kan hê.

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<u>Abbreviations</u>

AIDS – Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

ANC – African National Congress

BEE – Black Economic Empowerment

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination

CERD – Committee on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination

CGE – Commission for Gender Equality

CONTROLESA – Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa

CRC – Convention on the Rights of the Child

FGM – Female Genital Mutilation

GBV – Gender Based Violence

HCP – Harmful Cultural Practices

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HTP – Harmful Traditional Practices

ICCPR – International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

KZN – KwaZulu Natal

SARChi – The South African Research Chairs Initiative

SPSS – Statistical Package for Social Sciences

UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN – United Nations

UNGA – United Nations General Assembly

VAW – Violence Against Women

WNC – Women's National Coalition

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Gender Equality and Culture

This research study is set against the backdrop of one of the most globally pressing and recognised issues: gender equality[1]. A wide range of individuals, political and non-political institutions have emphasised the topic of gender equality. While there have been considerable shifts and sustainable progress in achieving a more gender-equal society, vast disparities persist. Across the globe, gender equality is increasingly but simultaneously put under pressure by the controversial issue of culture.

Many countries have committed to advancing gender equality through ratifying and acceding treaties. Countries that form part of the international community, like South Africa, ratified the important Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).[2] South Africa accepted CEDAW in 1996 without reservation to any of the included articles and signed the 'Optional Protocol' on CEDAW which boosted enforcement mechanisms. Thus, South Africa has fully committed to the principles outlined in the CEDAW treaty (Maluleke, 2012:5). In article 2 of CEDAW, violence against women is classified as a form of discrimination. Article 16 further obliges the state to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women with regards to marriage and family matters (Maluleke, 2012:5). Subsequently, gender equality is encouraged and promoted. However, sometimes culture conflicts with principles of gender equality. Maluleke (2015:7) explains that numerous customary practices in South Africa, where the right to culture is emphasised in the Constitution, like *ukuthwala* and virginity testing are so deeply entrenched in some cultures that it may take priority over gender equality. Therefore, treaties such as CEDAW cannot necessarily guarantee gender equality in countries with stringent cultural norms.

Even today, in several parts of the world, women are still being ruled by oppression and discrimination. Afghanistan is known to have one of the most oppressive regimes, where women and girl children are forced to follow extreme versions of Islamic law as introduced by the Taliban (Inglehart & Norris, 2003:5). Under this rule, women and girl children are subject to several discriminatory and disadvantageous practices, including the withholding of

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[1] Gender Equality is equality of rights and opportunities between men and women.
[2] CEDAW is a treaty implemented in 1979 by the UN general assembly. It is also regarded as an international Bill of Rights for women. The CEDAW preamble consists of 30 articles which are designed to highlight and combat discrimination against women (Overview of the Convention, n.d.).

education and poor access to healthcare. Women are in some areas also prohibited from entering the labour force and they are unable to walk in public without a male by their side (Inglehart & Norris, 2003:5).

In the contemporary era, different interpretations of culture challenge gender equality as some undermine the human rights of women and girl children. According to Sarwar (2019), women's rights are central to the debate around gender quality and culture. Reid (2009) articulates that traditional cultural values are frequently used as an excuse to infringe on the human rights of individuals. In many countries around the world, including South Africa, cultural practices which have discriminatory elements persist thus impeding rather than enhancing individuals' civil, social, political, economic and cultural rights.

Asomah (2015:131) explains that culture can be used as a tool to assert human rights and it can also be invoked to justify the violation of the rights of other people. A collection of literature dedicated to cultural relativism emphasises respect for multiculturalism and cultural differences and furthermore encourages sensitivity towards cultures which are different from one's own (Asomah, 2015:131). Therefore, when culture is used to undermine rights, it is usually from a cultural relativist stance. Some scholars from the South have argued that the notion of universal human rights is a form of cultural imperialism, aimed to advance Western ideals (Asomah, 2015:132). However, Asomah (2015:133) contends that the characterisation of human rights used as a tool to further Western interests often distorts the reality of human rights injustices, more specifically, it downplays the magnitude of human rights violations of women and girl children. Additionally, Asomah (2015:133) articulates that cultural rights are used to undermine human rights as it may be a 'smokescreen' to perpetuate patriarchy and maintain the subordination and oppression of women and girl children thus contributing to gender inequality.

The rape trial of Jacob Zuma typifies culture as a defence to undermine the human rights of women and girl children. In 2006 in South Africa, ex-President Jacob Zuma went through a rape trial, where he justified non-consensual sex using culture as a defence (Hassim, 2006:71). Zuma claimed that the actions of the young woman provoked him and as part of his Zulu culture he engaged in sexual intercourse with her, as his culture strongly prohibits leaving a woman aroused (Hassim, 2009:71). The cultural defence has also been used by Member of Parliament, Mandla Mandela to justify *ukuthwala*. However, because *ukuthwala* is such a contested concept it should be elaborated further. The way that the practice of *ukuthwala* is known today is a distorted version of the custom. The Commission for Gender

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Equality (CGE) (2000:4) clarifies that *ukuthwala* dates back to when to when girls whose parents did not approve of the relationship with their boyfriends voluntarily arranged to be captured as means to coercing the families to allow the marriage. Thus, it was a means to force the parents to accept the *lobola* and to accept the relationship so that the girl would be able to marry the man she wants to marry (CGE, 2000:4). The CGE (2000:5) explains that the initial purpose of *ukuthwala* was romantic as the two people wanted to be together and went to those lengths to make it possible. However, the CGE (2000:5) underlines that *ukuthwala* is rooted in culture and tradition but the version of the custom observed today is distorted. Feminists writing on *ukuthwala,* are specifically critical of the age of consent of the girls, however, Chief Mandla Mandela argued that entering into marriage through the custom of *ukuthwala* is not at all related to age. He further added that "culture has no age. Age is something we learnt today because of our 'westernisation' " (When culture clashes with gender rights*,* 2011). In 2012, an African National Congress (ANC) member of parliament, Patekile Holomisa condemned the promotion and protection of rights of homosexual men and women in South Africa (Segar, 2012). Gouws (2014:36) further exclaims that such thinking can result in the 'corrective rape' of lesbians in South Africa.

The cases above are only a few of many controversial arguments based on cultural defence. From the above, it is evident that these interpretations of culture gave birth to the culture rights debate. Culture is an integral part of people's lives, especially African people. However, some of the interpretations of cultural practices typically tend to violate the fundamental human rights of women, which then again increase inequality between men and women in this sphere. It is also important to note that while significant advances have been made with regards to gender equality across a global scale, gender inequalities persist, especially in a multicultural world, as this research will demonstrate.

1.2 Perceptions of Rights and Culture

This study is an empirical study that aims to test what the influence of urbanisation and level of education is on perceptions of gender equality and culture amongst women, through survey research. It aims to make a contribution to understand the relationship between culture and rights. It is not a normative study that aims to judge cultural practices or to judge the findings of other quantitative surveys. The study aims to establish what the relationship is between urbanisation, gender equality and culture, and between education, gender equality and culture, with a sample of women that was filtered from the entire sample for this survey.

In studies done in the global North a binary relationship is often established between culture and rights that gives the impression that universal human rights always trump culture, and often makes the assumption that those who adhere to culture are less civilized. This study wants to establish what the attitudes of women themselves, as post-colonial subjects in South Africa, are of culture and rights and whether urbanisation and education influence perceptions of gender equality and culture and what may be perceived as harmful cultural practices. Harm, however, can also be imposed on culture by those who do not live in a specific culture, and we need to be cautious in defining cultural practices as harmful. I will return to this point.

Human rights and equality has been encouraged by several individuals, groups and organisations across the world, so too has culture and multiculturalism been encouraged. Albertyn (2009:170) defines culture "as a particular way of life". Albertyn (2009:170) also states that in a culture, group members have specific values, follow certain norms and produce material goods. Albertyn (2009:170) then highlights the importance of culture by noting that "it is an inescapable part of being human and helps us make sense of the world". Wadesango, Rembe, and Chabaya (2011:121) find that culture plays an important role in shaping an individual's identity as well as giving the individual a sense of belonging. Furthermore, Wadesango *et al.* (2001:121) highlights that cultural traditions have great value and are dearly held by the community.

In 2002, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) implemented a resolution of human rights and cultural diversity. The resolution shows significant support for cultural diversity by stating that the quest for cultural development through people and nations acts as a mutual enrichment source "for the cultural life of humankind" (Mubangizi, 2012:1). The resolution also recognised that through respect for cultural rights and multiculturalism there is a boost in cultural pluralism (Mubangizi, 2012:1). In turn, this has resulted in a greater exchange of knowledge and comprehension of cultural background, which advances the enjoyment and application of universal human rights (Mubangizi, 2012:2). Furthermore, according to Grant (2006:4) the right to culture is encouraged and emphasised in article 22 and 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Therefore, the importance of culture and multiculturalism around the world cannot be refused nor overlooked.

However, in the contemporary era, there is a growing body of literature on the conflict in various contexts between universal human rights claims and cultural claims (Du Toit, 2014:15). According to Okin (1999:9) minority groups and indigenous groups were expected

to assimilate into majority cultural groups. However, assimilations are now considered to be oppressive, specifically towards women. Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:3) state that women's bodies and rights are at the heart of debates concerning the accommodation of cultural rights and multiculturalism. Furthermore, Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:4) concede that a tension exists between multiculturalism and women's rights. Gouws and Satsiulis (2014:4) also highlight that the culture rights debate is more complex and that many feminist scholars are critical of the claims made around the culture rights debate.

Culture is important. While culture has significant positive aspects, some cultural practices are considered discriminatory towards women and girl children as it violates their human rights. In South Africa, these practices and customs include female circumcision[3], virginity testing[4], *ukuthwala*[5], *lobola*[6], polygamy[7] and male primogeniture[8] (Mubangizi, 2012).

Primarily human rights were developed to safeguard individuals against the state. However, it steadily evolved to protect individuals against non-state actors (Howard-Hassman, 2012:94). Human rights were extended accordingly to protect individuals in their more 'private' societal and familial spheres (Howard-Hassman, 2012:94). Howard-Hassman (2012:93) defines human rights as the rights which all human beings are entitled to, simply because they are biologically human.

The universality of human rights has been a contested notion. However, the preamble of the UDHR declares it "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations" (UN General Assembly, 1948). The World Conference on Human Rights unambiguously define the principle of human rights, in their final declaration as: "All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis" (Grant, 2006:2).

Despite the unambiguous definitions of human rights, many African countries are apprehensive to accept it based on their resistance to 'westernisation' and the need to preserve cultural values and practices (Grant, 2006:2). Tamale (2008:50) highlights that the UDHR should be met with caution as "only a handful of women and no sub-Saharan African"

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[3]Female circumcision involves partial or total cutting of women's external genitalia (or any injury done to the female sex organ) for no therapeutic reason.

[4]Virginity testing refers to the physical examination of a girl's genitalia to see whether the hymen is intact.

[5]Ukuthwala is seen to be the abduction/kidnapping of a girl by a man and peers to force the girl into marriage.

[6]Lobola is the practice of paying a price for a bride.

[7]Polygamy is a custom of marrying multiple spouses.

[8]Primogeniture rule is where the eldest living male has the right to inherit the parent's estate.

comprised part of the UNGA when the UDHR was drafted and debated. According to Tamale (2008:50) the general character of the rights presented in the UDHR embodies "normative values, inspirations and interests of Western culture". Tamale (2008:50) explains that the overall culture of the UDHR has been criticized for its narrow focus on the individual's relationship with the state which has its roots in Western philosophy, thereby advancing male values centred on heterosexual views of human beings. Grant (2006:8) finds that in South Africa, specifically, there was a lobby by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTROLESA) to have culture excluded from the Bill of Rights. Grant (2006:8) articulates that the opposition from traditional leaders stems from their resistance to the imposition of Western values on African customs as well as the need to reassert the importance and value of customary law and tradition. Nkosi Holomisa (2005:49) looked at gender culture and rights from a traditional leadership perspective and in doing so also argues that traditional roles and customs ought to be preserved and valued as it was created to protect vulnerable women and children. Furthermore, Holomisa (2005:49) highlights that research presented on gender equality and rights should be informed by people who live within those cultures rather than from 'others' who impose their own normative beliefs on cultural settings.

Therefore, it is clear that perceptions toward culture and rights differ. Although, a tension is present between culture and rights, African societies attribute great value to culture and tradition and furthermore warns of buying into universal Western discourses regarding culture and rights. Thus, it becomes imperative to delve into the culture rights debate to locate proactive means for solving multicultural conflict and for culture and human rights to coexist, especially in post-colonial African societies. As mentioned, this is not a normative study aimed at judging cultural practices and traditions, therefore, the next section is dedicated to delineating the concept of harm in terms of harmful cultural practices.

1.3 "Harm" – A Contested Concept in terms of 'Harmful Cultural Practices'

As demonstrated above, culture and rights are both important. However, the discourse regarding culture and rights is more complex. This study seeks to explore what the attitudes are of women, as post-colonial subjects, toward practices which has been perceived as harmful and discriminatory towards women.

First harmful cultural practices need to be conceptualised. Kouyaté (2009:2) defines harmful practices as "all practices done deliberately by men on the body or psyche of other human beings for no therapeutic purpose, but rather for cultural or socio-conventional motives and

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which have harmful consequences on the health and rights of victims." Wadesango *et al.* (2011:121) explain that harmful cultural practices "harm the physical integrity of the individual", mostly women and girl children. Wadesango *et al*. (2011:121) furthermore add that cultural practices which are considered to be harmful may cause severe physical pain or it may subject the individual to degrading and humiliating treatment. Article 1 of The Protocol of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, also called The Maputo Protocol, defines harmful practices as "all behaviour, attitudes and/or practices which negatively affect the fundamental rights of women and girls, such as their right to life, health, dignity, education and physical integrity" (African Commission on Human and People's Rights, 2018). From the definitions above it can be seen that harmful cultural practices include not only those which encompass violence against women and girl children but also those which tend to violate their human rights (Mubangizi, 2015:160). Wadesango *et al.* (2011) note the following cultural practices to be considered harmful: Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), marriage by abduction, child marriages and virginity testing.

However, harm is a contested concept and therefore needs to be interrogated in order to highlight the complexity of "harmful cultural practices". In offering a postcolonial feminist critique of harmful cultural practices, Longman and Bradley (2015:14) argue that cultural practices considered harmful are usually focused on practices observed in the global South and the dominant discourses regarding harmful cultural practices typically represent Third-World women's bodies as "passive subjects of development". Longman and Bradley (2015:14) explain that the literature on multiculturalism and rights, portray the average Third World woman as lacking agency and subjectivity which is in contrast to Western women who are portrayed as emancipated. This argument is similarly echoed by Chandra Mohanty (1984) and Uma Narayan (1998), as will be elaborated on later in this thesis.

Harmful cultural practices is a debated concept, not only because of the way that Third World women are depicted as victims of their cultures but also because the concept neglects to include practices from the West which hold negative effects for women but which are constructed as individual choice rather than culturally motivated. While lauding the United Nations (UN) initiatives to deal with harmful cultural practices Winter, Thompson and Jeffreys (2002:72) is concerned with the literature, particularly the 1995 Fact Sheet, which focuses mostly on practices from non-Western societies. Winter *et al.* (2002:75) argue that this narrow focus of harmful cultural practices implies that societies in the West do not have

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traditions which are harmful to women and that violence found in Western societies are individualised as opposed to culturally condoned. Longman and Bradley (2015:19) highlight "a beauty of thinness" (for women) exists in the West which leads to a significant increase in eating disorder and cosmetic surgery. In her writing of harmful cultural practices, Sheila Jeffreys challenges the "Western bias" in defining harmful cultural practices by elaborating on Western beauty. According to Jeffreys (2005:29) Western beauty practices meet the same requirements of non-Western/Third-World cultures which allow for them to be classified as "harmful". Jeffreys (2005:31) elucidates her point by underlining that makeup, labiaplasty, breast implants and high-heeled shoes have increased because of the premiums placed on women and girls bodies in Western societies. According to Jeffreys (2015:32) women in the West alter their bodies to show subordinate status and to show that they exist for the pleasure of men.

Therefore, the concept of "harm" and "harmful cultural practices "is questioned. Before applying a concept like harm it should first be considered who defined the concept and to whom certain practices are regarded as harmful because what may be harmful to one person may not necessarily be harmful to another person. The concept of harm is interpreted in various ways. Harm in the global South construct women as victims without agency in contrast to women in the North who are depicted as emancipated and with agency. However, as seen, harm done to women is observed in Western societies and although it is not labelled as cultural it meets all the requirements which constitute a harmful cultural practice in the South. Thus it is not black or white with regards to harmful cultural practices. This study does not wish to make claims about what is harmful and what is not, however, this study wants to establish what women's attitudes are towards practices which have been contested as harmful since many postcolonial feminists from the South have written extensively on this issue.

In her writing on gender equality, rights, culture and law in South Africa, Sibongile Ndashe (2005:37) argues that there is a deliberate confusion regarding women's rights and culture in South Africa as the Constitution is one which emphasises equality and furthermore, that the Constitutional Assembly clarified that "group rights cannot be exercised inconsistent with the Constitution". Ndashe (2005:37) highlights the Women's National Coalition's (WNC) victory in making customary law consistent with other claims in the Bill of Rights. According to Ndashe (2005:37) this means that where customary practices violate provisions in the Bill of Rights, the practice would have to yield thereby ensuring that only the parts of customary law consistent with the Constitution would endure. According to Van der Westhuizen (2005:101)

Ndashe finds that African customary law and formal law have worked together to negate African women's rights. Furthermore, Van der Westhuizen (2005:101) explains that Ndashe's arguments were significant as criticisms against customary law result in accusations that African women buy into Western culture to which Ndashe responded that "there is no culture that legitimises beating up your wife" and she underlines that culture is frequently used as a justification for unlawful actions. Ndashe (2005:39) concludes that the rights-based argument as seen in the literature is one which is crucial to advance women's rights and ensure gender equality. Van der Westhuizen (2005:101) states that Ndashe notes that a balancing act is needed as Africans may not necessarily agree on women's right to equality and the right to culture.

While the international community recognises the problem of harmful cultural practices and the need for equality between sexes, achieving equality has been complicated (Fact Sheet no.23, 1995). Women's basic human rights continue to be violated through certain cultural practices while enforcing a culture of male supremacy (Fact Sheet no.23, 1995). Harmful cultural practices have made women economically and politically subordinate to men, and it has allowed for "female sexual control by men" (Fact Sheet no.23, 1995). According to Wadesango *et al.* (2011:121) harmful cultural practices are rooted in deeply entrenched discriminatory views about the position and role of women in society, thus women are reduced to inferior positions from birth. Furthermore, Wadesango *et al.* (2011:121) underlines that harmful cultural practices perpetuate the subordination of women in society and legitimise gender based violence. Therefore, even though UN agencies and human rights organisations have highlighted the issue surrounding harmful cultural practice since the 1950s, change in this regard "has been slow and superficial" (Fact Sheet no.23, 1995).

This research will use the term 'harmful cultural practices' (HCP) as opposed to 'harmful traditional practices' (HTP). According to Le Roux and Bartelink (2017:13) the UN replaced the word 'tradition' with 'culture' in 2002 to avoid the juxtaposition of HCP with modernity which subsequently implies that practices considered to be harmful will die out once the society modernises. This argument is strengthened by Winter *et al.* (2002:76) as they find the UN approach to HCP draws a contrast between 'traditional' and 'modern' with non-Western societies belonging to the former and Western societies to the latter. However, modernity does not necessarily drive out harmful practices as violence against women is endemic to modern Western states (Winter *et al.*, 2002:77). For this reason, this study will refer to HCP.

Volpp (2001:1148) is critical of the culture rights binary, which is the dominant discourse within which these debates take place, and therefore argues to move beyond this binary opposition when examining concerns for women's rights. This is because when culture and rights are portrayed as binary "each term is presumed to exclude values of the other" (Volpp, 2001:1203). Gouws (2014:35) argues that the perception exists that culture tends to be related to pre-modern practices while universal human rights are related to "modernity, individualism and enlightenment". Thus, it creates the idea that those who embrace cultural values do not support human rights and in this case, gender equality and those who advocate for human rights and gender equality do not necessarily value culture and cultural diversity (Volpp, 2001:1203).

1.4 Gender Equality, Rights and Culture: South Africa

The situation in South Africa, regarding culture and rights, has been heavily debated by various scholars. Rautenbach (2010:144) explains that South Africa is governed by a legally pluralistic system of government, with a common law system which applies to all South Africans except where African customary law is applicable. This plural legal system has resulted in overlapping and often contradictory situations for certain individuals, predominantly women (Rautenbach, 2010:144).

The concepts of culture and rights in South Africa are rather complex. The complexity surrounding culture and rights are mostly attributed to customary law. To conceptualise, Ndulo (2011:88) defines customary law as the "the indigenous law of various ethnic groups of Africa." During the pre-colonial and colonial era, the majority of people in African states performed personal activities in accordance with and subject to customary law. Thus the notion of 'African customary law' is not necessarily a uniform set of customs, but rather an umbrella concept used to indicate many different legal systems (Ndulo, 2011:88). Although these legal systems may differ, their broad principles are the same, it has an ethnic origin and usually an ethnic group that occupies a certain area (Ndulo, 2011:88). According to Ndulo (2011:88) customary law systems are historically and presently recognised as authoritative and have resulted because of social conditions and political motivations (Ndulo, 2011:88).

However, an important distinction needs to be made with regards to "living customary law" and "official customary law". Firstly, in providing a distinction between living and official customary law, Himonga and Bosch (2000:318) highlight that there is not a clear cut distinction between the two versions of customary law and that the concepts are simply used

to indicate the dominant forms of customary law. Himonga and Bosch (2000:319) explain that living customary law is used to indicate cultural practices observed by people in their day-to-day lives. According to Himonga and Bosch (2000:319) this type of customary law is dynamic and active and thereby able to adapt to the changing social and economic conditions. Himonga and Moore (2015:8) note that this is the customary law seen in black South African societies. Furthermore, Himonga and Moore (2015:8) explain that because living customary law is able to evolve and adapt, it is able to transform and protect rights which were previously not protected, for example the right of women to inheritance or succession in terms of customary law. However, Himonga and Moore (2015:8) importantly note that this is not a guarantee that all living customary law is consistent with Constitutional or human rights. Thus, Himonga and Moore (2015:8) clarify that living customary law may also include practices which may be discriminatory and oppressive to certain groups such as women and children. Still, it should be mentioned that the Constitutional Court regards living customary law as a legitimate source of law, thus communities which practice living customary law do not live under a system of social control, rather it is seen as the valid law of the community.

Official customary law is used to denote the version of customary law that is seen by those outside of the communities in which the customary law in question is practiced (Himonga and Bosch, 2000:328). Official customary law is seen as the "captured and formalised" edition of customary law that have been noted in law reports (Himonga & Bosch, 2000:328). According to Himonga and Bosch (2000:328) official customary law differs from living customary law in that it does not have an attachment with the customary law practiced by people. Himonga and Bosch (2000:329) highlight that one of the problems with this type of official customary law is that it tends to present old, outdated versions of customary law which people no longer actually practice.

Nevertheless, Ndulo (2011:88) highlights that African customary law has an effect on most African lives especially in areas of personal law, specifically, inheritance, marriage and traditional authority. Ndulo (2011:89) signifies that African customary law is often discriminatory and disadvantageous towards women in areas of *lobola* (paying a price for a bride), guardianship, inheritance, the appointment to traditional offices, age of majority and the exercise of traditional authority. Women are seen as adjuncts to the ethnic group to which they belong, rather than equals. It has contributed to the debate between traditionalists and human rights activists about whether customary practices are compatible with human rights norms (Ndulo, 2011:89). On the one hand, traditionalists reinforce that customary law

positively contributes to the promotion of human rights, whilst activists disagree and argue that customary law treats women as second class citizens and undermine women's dignity (Ndulo, 2011:89). Thus, while these African states' constitutions reinforce principles of gender equality it also guarantees cultural rights which leads to tensions in certain cases (Ndulo, 2011:89).

While not neglecting the colonial past, from which customary law was born, Gouws (2014:42) declares that the codification of customary law holds negative consequences for women. For the reason that it strengthens patriarchal norms, attributes superior status and power on senior male members, entrenches patriarchal bias and it creates a fixed division between the private and public sphere (Gouws, 2014:42). Thus, through the codification of customary law women's right to equality in African states are continually undermined.

Fombad (2014:475) notes that dealing with the perceived tensions between customary law and human rights, especially problems regarding gender equality continued to be a significant challenge for African states. Customary law practices impose minimum standards in the treatment of marginalised groups, like, women and girl children, which increase gender inequality (Fombad, 2014:476). African courts often face the task of interpreting and applying customary law in light of changes including: commodification, urbanisation, monetarisation, poverty, unemployment and standards that are imposed by international human rights organisations (Fombad, 2014:476). Additionally, Fombad (2014:477) explains that customary law principles are deeply entrenched in older generations, whose numbers are declining due to age and the younger generations are moving to urban centres where they have less contact with the realities of customary law. These factors contribute to the tensions that exist between customary law and rights.

South Africa, which this study will focus on, has a diverse multicultural setting in terms of language, race, religion and ethnic communities (Mubangizi, 2012:33). Following the advent of democracy in 1994, came the drafting of the 1996 Constitution. It should be noted that the South African Constitution is one of the most progressive constitutions, including the Bill of Rights which expands on all categories of human rights (Mubangizi, 2012:34). While human rights and equality are enshrined throughout the Constitution, so too are cultural rights and individuals right to culture and language protected under sections 30 and 31 of the Constitution (Mubangizi, 2012:35). Furthermore, the right of culture is given further impetus by sections 185 and 211(3). Section 211(3) specifically recognises the application of customary law by the courts (Mubangizi, 2012:35). Given that human rights and cultural

rights are reinforced in the South African Constitution, gender equality is constantly challenged in this regard.

Lehnert (2005:241) articulates that advocates of customary law see the South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights as a Western document which Africans cannot understand and thereby it threatens the existence of customary law. On the other hand, human rights proponents describe customary law as largely patriarchal (Lehnert, 2005:241). During the negotiated transition to democracy, traditional leaders including, CONTRALESA, comprised part of the representatives who participated in the discussions on the draft of the interim Constitution. During negotiations, traditional leaders were apprehensive to commit to equality and more specifically towards gender equality (Kaganas & Murray, 1994:410). It was not surprising given that traditional male leaders legitimately preside over a customary law system which does not recognise men and women as equal. Traditional leaders are always placed in positions of power and authority, while women are placed in more subordinating positions with little to no authority (Kaganas & Murray, 1994:410).

In South Africa, official customary law often directly disadvantages women (Kaganas & Murray, 1994:416). A fundamental principle of the customary law of succession surrounds the male primogeniture rule. This rule states only a male relative of a deceased is eligible to be an interstate heir (Grant, 2006:10).Thus, in a monogamous family, the eldest son will succeed his father while the father of the deceased will succeed if there were not any other male relatives and if the father did not survive the closest male relative of the deceased became the next rightful heir (Grant, 2006:10). African women, despite the important role they play in maintaining the household and familial life, were always excluded from intestate succession under official customary law rules. A classic example of a customary law case is that of *Bhe V. Magistrate* and *Shibi V. Sithole* (Grant, 2006:11) which will be elaborated on in Chapter Two of this research study.

However, as noted, a distinction exits between official and living customary law. According to Kult (2001:709) the official version of customary law is found to be inaccurate and misleading as socio-economic conditions have changed resulting in a modern version of customary law in Southern African states. This is known as "living customary law". Kult (2001:709) describes some findings of an independent study (Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Trust) in which there has been changes in customary succession. Kult (2001:710) explains that the changes included a shift from trying to maintain a patriarchal order to rather attending to the deceased's survivors needs. Additionally, Kult (2001:710)

highlights that widows have stronger estate claims under living customary law, thus, the deceased's children and surviving spouse tend to become the main beneficiaries of the state under loving customary law. Therefore while the rules of official customary law often discriminated against women in areas of succession and inheritance, living customary law sees more equality for women in terms of succession and inheritance.

While customary law is at the core of the debate between gender equality and culture in South Africa, there are other cultural practices in South Africa which harm women and girl children. Female circumcision also referred to as FGM is a practice considered to be harmful (Mubangizi, 2012:14). While FGM is not widespread in South Africa, instances of FGM have been reported in parts of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and the Eastern Cape. According to Mubangizi (2012:14) FGM has its roots "in a culture of discrimination against women". As a result, Mubangizi (2012:14) furthermore states that FGM is related to women's disadvantaged and unequal position in the social, political and economic sphere of the society where it is practiced.

Another cultural tradition which is directly in conflict with international human rights norms in South Africa is virginity testing (Mubangizi, 2012:15). Virginity testing is also prevalent in Zulu tradition and therefore widespread in KZN. It involves an examination of a girl's genitalia to see whether the hymen is still intact (Mubangizi, 2012:15). There have been attempts to ban the practice of virginity testing especially among girl children due to its invasive nature, however Zulu traditionalists reacted with great discontent towards possible regulation and banning of this custom (Mubangizi, 2012:15).

In his investigation of customary law in South Africa Thandabantu Nhlapo (2017:20) acknowledges the South African courts and legislature's efforts to integrate African values into the South African legal system while trying to address the tension between culture and rights in South Africa. However, Nhlapo (2017:20) criticizes the courts attempts to preserve deep indigenous African values. Nhalpo (2017:21) finds that law reform solutions to address multicultural conflict falls into the trap of introducing Western processes into non-Western societies. In highlighting the inefficiency of law reform, Nhlapo (2017:21) proposes to rethink the Africanisation idea which encourages the advancement of African values into the South African legal arena, moving away from a Western world view and accepting that African values can positively contribute to the South African society.

The story of rights and culture in South Africa is multifaceted. While it is evident that customary law along with other cultural traditions and customs may conflict with

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international human rights norms, cultural traditions endure due to the legacy of such practices. Even though women and girl children are most disadvantaged by cultural practices, Gouws (2014:38) finds outlawing harmful cultural practices to be a serious intervention into culture which could possibly hold adverse effects for women. Thus, this research study warrants further investigation into the perceptions of women toward gender equality and culture.

1.5 Problem Statement and Rationale

Since the death of Apartheid South Africa has been applauded for its multiracial and multicultural diversity [9]. While South Africa's highly diverse multicultural setting is considered one of the country's greatest strengths, it also poses numerous challenges. The cultural norms, traditions, ideas and values in some cases are frequently in conflict with the country's rights-based democratic Constitution.

Over the years, the notion of multiculturalism has come under significant scrutiny. Most of the main criticisms against multiculturalism are rooted in feminist writings. In the contemporary era, the primary tension surrounding multiculturalism is related to rights. Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:3) find that some cultural practices and traditions infringe on the basic human rights of individuals, mostly women. Women all over the world are affected by multiculturalism in different ways and while some women embrace and accept cultural practices unquestionably and others reject 'harmful' cultural practices by expressing concern for their basic human rights.

Susan Moller Okin contributes to the culture rights debate from an American perspective by writing on the effect that 'harmful' cultural practice have on women. Okin (1999:22) writing from a Northern perspective rejects group rights for minority cultural groups based on her argument that cultural groups advance patriarchal ideas. For Okin (1999:22) group rights for minority cultural groups do little to solve multicultural conflict. Instead, it aggravates problems associated with multiculturalism. In light of this, Okin (1999:22) proposes that harmful and oppressive cultural practices be outlawed to solve multicultural conflict.

In the global North, harmful and oppressive cultural practices towards women have been centredon wearing the hijab (veiling of the face in the Muslim culture), clitoridectomy and the marriage of girl children (Gouws & Stasiulis, 2014:4). The culture rights debate in the South

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[9] Multiculturalism and cultural diversity will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

(like South Africa) is concerned with *lobola*, *ukuthwala*, polygamy and virginity testing (Gouws & Stasiulis, 2014:4). Human rights organisations, as well as, women's and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) argue for the protection of women's basic human rights, whilst cultural groups and organisations argue in defence of their culture (Gouws, 2014:36). To dislodge the binary between culture and rights in South Africa, it therefore becomes imperative to explore the perceptions and attitudes of post-colonial South African women towards cultural practices which have been contested as harmful.

The concept of multiculturalism in post-colonial societies like South Africa can be problematised further. Multiculturalism in post-colonial societies revolves around the accommodation of cultural practices and traditions of indigenous groups, which inhabited countries centuries before the colonial era (Gouws & Stasiulis, 2014:2). Furthermore, such indigenous groups constituted the majority of the population and therefore produced their own culture based on the circumstances at the time as opposed to the case of immigration of minority groups (found mostly in the North) which typically tend to bring 'foreign' practices and traditions along with them (Gouws & Stasiulis, 2014:2).

Furthermore, Gouws (2014:38) notes that simply outlawing harmful cultural practices towards women may fail to dislodge the existing binary between culture and rights. Multiculturalism in post-colonial societies is therefore more complicated than multiculturalism in developed liberal societies. Whilst conceding thatt a tension between culture and rights exists, Gouws (2014:38) contends that in post-colonial societies, such as South Africa, outlawing harmful cultural practices as a means to resolve problems associated with women and multiculturalism is considered a serious intervention into a culture which may have adverse effects on women.

The culture rights debates presented in the literature are mostly concerned with the rights of women. Therefore women's perceptions towards gender equality and culture are important to consider, not only to develop effective solutions for multicultural conflict but also to continue to empower women. However, women's perceptions of gender equality and culture may likely vary depending on urbanisation and levels of education.

As highlighted above, two significant variables that this study examines are the urban-rural locality and levels of education. In South Africa women's perceptions towards gender equality and culture may differ depending on their locality (urban or rural) and their levels of education. Kehler (2001:44) explains that cultural (and social) norms place restrictions on women that may not only deny them the same opportunities as that of men, but it may also hamper their development. Furthermore, Kehler (2001:45) notes that rural women suffer the

most as a result of this. In the context of South Africa, rural women are significantly more disadvantaged than urban women. Their living conditions and general well-being is far worse off than that of urban women, and this may in part be due to the restrictions which cultural norms place on them. As a result, perceptions towards cultural norms and traditions are likely to differ based on a woman's locality (urban or rural).

Also, women's perceptions of multiculturalism may be influenced by their level of education. Dalton (1984:246) used the theory of 'cognitive mobilization' to explain that the rapid spread of education coupled with an information explosion through mass media, has led to a generally more educated and sophisticated public in advanced industrial democracies. Kabeer (2005:16) argues that education and this notion of cognitive ability facilitate women in questioning, reflecting and acting on the circumstances of their lives.

People in the contemporary era are generally more educated, and as a result, will think and act differently than before. Dalton (2013:9) emphasises that "people and politics have changed", of which one of the primary changes is the economic, social and political status of women and minority groups. This notion is central to this research study. Overtime women's lives in Western societies have changed dramatically. The contemporary era recognises economically and politically empowered women, better able to make decisions regarding their well-being (Dalton, 2013:25). Kabeer (2005:16) highlights that educated women are more inclined to take care of their well-being, therefore this research study affirms that educated and uneducated women may hold radically different views towards issues affecting their well-being. As such, women's perceptions towards important issues, such as gender equality and culture have changed. This research study deems it imperative to explore how the change in women's education levels might affect their view towards controversial issues such as multiculturalism, especially when cultural norms and traditions conflict with human rights.

Multiculturalism in post-colonial societies is a rather complex notion. A distinct tension between culture and rights is apparent, but reconciling multicultural conflict through law reform is not ideal. It thus becomes pertinent to probe women's perceptions of harmful cultural practices to develop effective solutions for multicultural conflict.

This study aims to investigate South African women's attitudes and perceptions of gender equality and culture. Furthermore, this study seeks to establish first, if women are inclined to value and give significant recognition to their cultural practices/traditions, even when it may sometimes violate their basic human rights. Secondly, this thesis aims to establish whether

South African women's attitudes toward gender equality and culture differ according to their urban-rural locality and level of education.

1.6 Gender Attitudes and Perceptions in Relation to Social Development, Geographical Locality and Education Levels

1.6.1 Social Development and Gender Attitudes

Based on a developmental theory of the gender gap Inglehart and Norris (2000:442) argue that due to long term socio-economic social development trends, there have been transformations in the lives of women and men. It has contributed to realignment in gender politics in post-industrial societies. According to Inglehart and Norris (2000:445) women and men's ways of living are altered by social development which is further expected to have an impact on their political preference. Inglehart and Norris (2003:9) claim that while cultural traditions play an imperative role in shaping women and men's world views, there have been glacial shifts which resulted in a systematic transfer from traditional values towards more egalitarian sex roles. Inglehart and Norris (2003:9) add that the shift from traditional values to a more gender-equal society is largely linked to the process of social development. Inglehart and Norris (2003:10) explain that patterns of social development and human development create a shift in women and men's attitudes which results in cultural change especially in matters relating to gender equality.

Inglehart and Norris (2003:10) exclaim that social development results in "systematic and predictable changes in gender roles". A change in gender roles is largely linked to a change in women and men's attitudes. Two important phases form part of the social development process:

Phase one: Industrialisation - allows for a greater percentage of women in the paid labour force, more educational opportunities and higher literacy rates among women and decreased fertility rates (Inglehart & Norris, 2003:10). Phase two: Post-industrialisation - sees a greater shift towards gender equality as women enter management positions and gain significant political influence (Inglehart & Norris, 2003:11). Due to the process of social development, there have been cultural shifts in the way that men, and especially, women think and view certain aspects. This has played an imperative role in promoting and encouraging the process of gender equality (Inglehart & Norris, 2003:11).

The above explained phases of social development are congruent with Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Dalton (1988:80) explains that Maslow proposes that a hierarchical order

to human goals exists. In this hierarchical order, individuals first aim to meet basic subsistence needs including food, water and shelter (Dalton, 1988:80). Thereafter (when these basic needs are met) individuals continue searching until enough material goods are acquired in order to be economically secure (Dalton, 1988:80). Lastly, when these material goods are acquired, individuals turn to "higher-order post-material needs" which includes the need for belonging, self-esteem, self actualisation, participation and the accomplishment of aesthetic and intellectual potential (Dalton, 1988:80). Dalton (1988:80) highlights that the material/post-material idea is a general framework to understand primary value change.

Social development theory, as explained above by Inglehart and Norris, and feminist theory formed the basis of a study examining the relationship between social development, gender equality and violence against women (VAW) in Turkey (Karakuş, 2015:2). According to Karakuş (2015:3) social development sees a transition from materialist, survival values to post-materialist, self-expression values which have in turn helped to prioritise gender equality over patriarchy. Karakuş (2015:3) finds that patriarchy is closely related to attitudes condoning VAW. Furthermore, Karakuş (2015:4) makes two important statements, firstly: traditional/patriarchal gender role attitudes reveal a relationship with an acceptance of VAW and secondly: more gender-equal attitudes are associated with intolerance of VAW. Despite the patriarchal and sexist culture of Turkey, at an individual level, the study yielded results congruent with social development and feminist theory (Karakuş, 2015:4).

According to Karakuş (2015:7) younger respondents are found to be more supportive of gender equality. In addition, women and better-educated respondents showed significantly more support for gender equality (Karakuş, 2015:10).

1.6.2 Education Levels and Gender Attitudes
Along with development, level of education is considered another significant factor which affects gender attitudes. In the studies conducted in Turkey and Ethiopia, education seemed to nurture more egalitarian gender attitudes.

The Turkish study investigated gender attitudes towards Gender based violence (GBV) at an individual level. The results showed that education and sex both have positive correlations with gender equality. In general, better-educated respondents and female respondents displayed more support towards gender equality (Karakuş, 2015:8). Furthermore, Karakuş (2015:8) posits that education as a factor affected attitudes towards gender equality more than

sex. Therefore, there was more support for gender equality from better-educated respondents, than from female respondents. Karakuş (2015:10) highlights that education continued to be a consistent factor impacting attitudes towards gender equality and education proved to be the only factor (of the study) to cultivate gender-egalitarian norms among male respondents.

In empirical studies using survey research as methodology findings consistently show that education has a negative correlation with the acceptance of violence. Flood and Pease (2009) comparing the results of a multitude of empirical studies in developed and developing countries found that education plays a liberating role in relation to GBV. Carlson and Worden (2005) in a sample of 1200 respondents in the USA showed a negative correlation between education and community violence.

In Ethiopia, education as a factor significantly influenced views towards wife-beating. Gurmu (2017:4) found that higher education levels (more than 12 years) amongst women reduce their odds of accepting wife-beating by more than half, compared to secondary (between 6 and 12 years) and primary education levels. In general, Gurmu (2017:4) emphasises that women with higher education levels are more likely to refuse wife-beating than those with lower education levels. To underline the importance level of education plays in influencing attitudes towards wife-beating, Gurmu (2017:4) adds that a study examining seven Asian countries (based on data collected between 1998 and 2001) also concluded that better-educated women depict more intolerance towards wife-beating than those who are less educated (Gurmu, 2017:4). So too did the same findings come up in a similar study conducted in Israel, Korea, Vietnam and seventeen other sub-Saharan countries (Gurmu, 2017:4). In a study of intimate partner violence in Zambia Heise and Kotsadam (2015:652) found that uneducated and lower-educated women were more likely to report tolerant attitudes toward violence than women who had a post secondary education. In a study with a nationally representative sample of men and women in Uganda higher education also shows a negative correlation with intimate partner violence (Speizer, 2010). Speizer tested attitudes toward violence with a vignette related to culturally accepted reasons why men beat their wives, such as "she burnt the food", she refused sex, she neglected the children, she argued with her husband and she went out with friends without the husband's permission". What the findings of these studies show is that education change attitudes toward GBV and culturally constructed reasons for GBV.

Inglehart and Welzel (2009:39) found that certain factors of which higher education levels are emphasised, challenges traditional values, which in turn gives rise to post-materialist and self-expression values. These values include political activism, freedom of expression, gender

equality and greater tolerance for minority ethnic groups, gays and lesbians and foreigners (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:40). Dalton (1984:275) finds that higher education levels challenge traditional norms and values to the extent that citizens want to actively become involved in the political process. The education factor and its impact on attitudes will further be elaborated on in Chapter Two.

1.6.3 Geographical Locality and Gender Attitudes

Geographical locality has a great impact on women's attitudes and views, as urban and rural women's attitudes differ, because rural communities are usually more conservative than urban communities.

A study conducted in Ethiopia (as referred to above) investigated the resistance of wife-beating amongst Ethiopian women (Gurmu, 2017:1). According to Gurmu (2017:2, 9) VAW, specifically wife-beating, is a norm accepted in Ethiopia as husbands use corporal punishment as a means to "correct erring wives". Gurmu (2017:2) adds that wife-beating is sustained in Ethiopia because it is regarded as a function of the socio-cultural settings of the communities, and there are unsuccessful legal actions taken to combat the problem. The study carried out in Ethiopia illustrated how socio-economic and demographic factors influence attitudes towards wife-beating. In relation to geographical locality, the results from the Ethiopian study showed that women residing in rural areas are more likely to justify and condone intimate partner violence than women who live in urban areas (Gurmu, 2017:4). Furthermore, Gurmu (2017:4) exclaims that the variation in attitudes towards wife-beating, between urban and rural women, can be attributed to traditional norms and values. This is because traditional norms and values are perpetuated in rural areas, while it is slowly eroding in urban areas due to the social development processes outlined above.

Furthermore, Gurmu (2017:6) finds that there were substantial percentage differences between urban and rural women rejecting wife-beating. More than half (54.1%) of the respondents residing in urban areas rejected wife-beating for reasons mentioned in the study. Only one quarter (24.5%) of respondents living in rural areas rejected wife-beating for any reason (Gurmu, 2017:6). Other socio-economic and demographic factors that were considered included education, age and marital status, religion, access to media and wealth status (Gurmu, 2017).

Gurmu (2017:9) explains that rural women (rather than urban women) in Ethiopia accept wife-beating because it is endorsed and culturally justified by family members, the community, health service providers and law enforcing agencies. Gurmu (2017:9) posits that Ethiopia is a traditional society and customary laws and regulations therefore take precedence. As a result, practices placing women in subordinate positions are both "acceptable and legitimate" (Gurmu, 2017:9). However, Gurmu (2017:9) finds the rejection of wife-beating to be linked to the social, cultural and behavioural transformation of societies in their evolution towards a more gender-equal society. Thus, Gurmu (2017:9) concludes that the variation in attitudes towards wife-beating in Ethiopia is considered a manifestation of the "socio-cultural differences in women's status and decision-making empowerment within their jurisdiction".

Fischer (1975:421) states that there is a strong correlation between urbanism and deviance from traditional values as non-conservative patterns of behaviour tend to be far more common in urbanised areas. Fischer (1975:421) draws attention to three theories which may account for why the urban space may encourage deviant behaviour. The first theory is directly linked to the characteristics of individuals residing in cities, while the other two factors are more focused on ecological variables of theurban centres (Fischer, 1975:421). In summary, Fischer (1975:421) finds that community size, density and heterogeneity leads to the urban society being functionally different, therefore, contributing to relaxed moral codes among individuals. These variables also create the perfect conditions for the establishment of large deviant subcultures which advance other perspectives and values (Fischer, 1975:421).

When investigating culture and human rights in South Africa Ncube (2018:61) found that older people asserted more importance towards culture than towards human rights. Whilst younger people agreed that human rights are more important than culture, this may be due to younger people being more exposed to urban cities where there is less of an attachment to culture (when compared to rural areas). Similarly, in examining culturally socialised gender roles in the home environment in South Africa, Ncube (2018:64) found that younger people, who may have urbanised, tend to express less patriarchal views on the different roles of men and women in the home. In the context of Zimbabwe, Ncube (2018:92) discovers that younger, urbanised citizens live according to both common and customary law, as they are exposed to both culture and modernity every day. In contrast, older citizens noted that they live under customary law only, this may be because they grew up in predominantly rural areas where culture had a significant impact on their lives. Thus, urban-rural locality may greatly impact perceptions relating to culture and human rights.

1.7 Research Question(s) and Objectives

Based on the research problem/problem statement, the overarching research question guiding this study is:

What is the influence of urbanisation and level of education on women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture?

The main research question is further divided into three sub-questions in order to answer the primary research question.

Sub-questions and Objectives:

1. How important is culture to South African women?

This research study has already asserted that culture is important. By determining how important South African women regard culture, this study hopes to explore if and why women show significant recognition for culture even though it may sometimes violate their rights. This study aims to establish to what extent women are willing to embrace cultural norms and values which potentially undermine principles of gender equality.

2. What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and urban-rural locality?

This research study hypothesises that rural women tend to be embedded in more traditional cultural social contexts. Therefore, they are more likely to hold more positive views of cultural practices even though it may violate women's human rights and not treat men and women as equal. In contrast, women living in urban areas are more likely to reject cultural practices when it infringes on their basic human rights.

3. What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and level of education?

This research study hypothesises that women with lower levels of education are less exposed to progressive viewpoints and values that challenge traditional norms and practises. Therefore, they are more likely to hold more positive views of cultural practices. In contrast, women with higher levels of education are more likely to embrace emancipative gender-based values and are therefore more likely to reject cultural practices, when they perceive these cultural practices to infringe on their basic human rights and challenge principles of gender quality.

1.8 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses can be deduced from the above-stated research questions:

1. Culture is more important to rural women than to urban women.

2. Less-educated women will attribute greater importance to culture than more educated women when cultural practices conflict with women's rights.

3. Rural women will hold more positive views of culture and cultural traditions.

4. Urban women will show greater intolerance towards cultural practices when it infringes individuals' basic human rights and undermine principles of gender equality.

5. Less-educated women who do not hold emancipative and self-expression values will not challenge traditional norms nor are they likely to reject cultural practices which are not gender-equal.

6. Women who have higher education levels are more likely to embrace emancipative values, therefore, will reject cultural traditions when they infringe on their human rights and challenge principles of gender equality.

1.9 Significance of the Research Study

By closely investigating women's views and perceptions towards multiculturalism, specifically gender equality and culture, the study will reveal the impact of sociological factors (including urban-rural locality and level of education) on attitudes and perceptions. This research study will be valuable not only in its efforts to explain the effect that urban-rural locality and education levels have on perceptions towards gender equality and culture. However, it may open other avenues of research related to urban-rural locality and education and women's attitudes. By thoroughly exploring the impact of these factors, policymakers will have access to more information consequently allowing them to better respond to controversial issues such as gender equality and culture, in the context of this specific study.

1.10 Thesis Outline

Chapter One: This introductory chapter serves to contextualise and familiarise the reader with the research study. It therefore lays the foundation of this study. Firstly, a brief background of gender equality and culture is laid out, which is followed by an overview of the culture/rights discourse. This is presented to accurately understand the context of this research study.

Continuing the study describes culture rights and gender equality in the context of South Africa. The research problem is then elaborated on by outlining the problem statement, as well as a rationale behind the study. This chapter then considered gender attitudes in relation to social development, education levels and urban-rural locality. The overarching research question, guiding the study is provided with research objectives. Additionally, three sub-questions are defined to shed light on the research objectives which aid in answering the primary research question. The chapter then further proceeds to define the expected hypotheses based on the literature presented. Following, the significance of the research study is noted. In conclusion, an outline of the thesis is presented to guide the reader through the research study.

Chapter Two: This chapter focuses on reviewing the literature surrounding gender equality and culture, specifically in South Africa. The chapter first looks at the concept of multiculturalism and elucidates the multicultural debate in the global South. The next section compares and contrasts tensions between culture and rights, underlining tensions between culture and rights in Third World countries. The bulk of the literature in this chapter focused on multiculturalism in South Africa. This is laid out in-depth in the next section of the chapter. Chapter Two concludes with a consideration of the effect that urban-rural locality and education may potentially have on attitudes, as this is the study's focus variables.

Chapter Three: This chapter lays out the study's research design and methodology in greater detail. The quantitative research design is discussed, and the motivation for such a research design is presented. Survey research as the study's data collection strategy is elucidated. Then information on the data set and sample are provided. The data process and analysis is further laid out for the reader to comprehend how the data will be analysed to answer the study's research questions. Continuing, limitations and delimitations of the study are noted. The chapter concludes with the ethical considerations of the study.

Chapter Four: This chapter focuses on presenting the data as well as an analysis of the data to answer the research questions. The data is presented and analysed according to each research question to establish the influence of urban-rural locality and level of education on women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture. An analysis of the data in relation to the literature on urban-rural locality and education from ChapterTwo is discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Five: The final chapter of this study provides a discussion of the results obtained in Chapter Four in the context of South Africa. This chapter also contributesto the findings of

this study, as well asprovide recommendations for any future study. Finally, the thesis is concluded.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

It has been established that a persisting tension exists between culture and rights in South Africa. This research study aimsto evaluate how women in South Africa feel about cultural practices which violate their right to equality and their basic human rights. Multiculturalism and the clash between culture and rights are at the core of this research study. Multiculturalism encourages diversity between cultures. However, this has proven to be challenging especially for women and women's rights.

Okin (1998:664) has strongly argued that a clear tension is present between multiculturalism and feminism in the global North. In her argument Okin (1998:665) makes a clear connection between gender and culture and indicates that many cultures around the world are highly patriarchal and discriminate against women. Although Okin has been criticised by many scholars, especially those from the global South (Okin, 1998:666) her arguments carry weight. Okin (1998:666) stresses that gender and culture are complexly related. This complex relationship between gender and culture has resulted in the perpetuation of many forms of culturally mandated inequality, including gender equality. As will be demonstrated below, some cultural practices do indeed clash with human rights. African cultures are rich in customs and traditions which tend to be considered patriarchal as a consequence of, but also may have resulted from a deeply patriarchal past. Therefore, African societies have shown significant resistance towards changing or even adapting customs which some have concluded are harmful to women in some or other way. Furthermore, scholars from the global South question whether multiculturalism as aconcept can be applied to Southern states (like South Africa) given its liberal origins (Gouws & Stasiulis, 2014:2). Thus, a clear difference in perspectives is evident between the global North and the global South.

This chapter will first look at the origins of the concept of multiculturalism and in doing so elucidate the multicultural debate in the global South. The next section illustrates the culture rights discourse by comparing and contrasting tensions surrounding culture and rights. This section is particularly significant because while it highlights the persisting conflict between culture and rights, it also accentuates the complexity of this discourse in the global South, especially in post-colonial countries like South Africa. This aids in understanding the next part of this chapter which is multiculturalism in South Africa. The literature in this chapter is focused on the South African context. Understanding multiculturalism in South Africa is not

as straightforward as in Northern liberal states, and therefore it warrants an in-depth explanation. This part of the chapter first considers the importance of culture to South African societies by explicitly highlighting the significance of colonialism and Apartheid in the construction of customary law in South Africa. This will help scholars and policymakers to better comprehend the perceptions and attitudes towards cultural practices, although sometimes harmful. It may also help with the response to the challenges of multiculturalism which is the aim of this research study. This section then presents a review of customary law and other cultural practices in South Africa to illustrate how this has proved to conflict with the country's rights-based Constitution. While establishing that some cultural traditions in South Africa clash with women's human rights, resolving multicultural conflict through the liberal solution of law reform has been ineffective. This is demonstrated in the following section by showing how two acts have been unsuccessful in solving the conflict between rights and culture. This chapter concludes with an explanation of how education and locality may impact attitudes and values towards gender equality as these are the two focus variables of this study.

2.2 Multiculturalism and the Debate in the Global South

The term 'multiculturalism' was first used in the 1980s by Canadian philosopher Will Kymlicka. Okin (1999:11) claims that Kymlicka is regarded as a prominent advocate of multiculturalism and is the foremost contemporary defender of cultural group rights for minority cultural groups. The idea of multiculturalism has become increasingly controversial mainly because several scholars have become critical of it for varying reasons.

To conceptualise, multiculturalism acts as a blanket notion which serves to explain that most countries today are culturally diverse (Kymlicka, 1995:1). Raz (1998:197) further defines multiculturalism as "the coexistence within the same political society of a number of sizeable groups wishing and in principle able to maintain their identity". Kelly (2002:1) explains that multiculturalism encompasses a range of complex issues including: "group representation and rights, the rights and status of immigrants, the recognition of immigrants, and the recognition of minority nations and the status of new social movements". Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:1) explain that one of the most debated areas is whether immigrants (especially from Muslim and non-Western countries)and minority groups should be integrated as individuals, given the liberal democratic system, or accommodated as groups (communities) but which may in some cases undermine the rights of women. These problems associated with multiculturalism are

problems experienced by countries in the global North that have predominantly liberal democratic frameworks. Kymlicka (1995:1) states that one of democracy's greatest challenges is finding a "morally defensible and politically viable" solution to multicultural conflict. To this, Kymlicka (1995:6) proposes that universal rights be accredited to all individuals despite group membership, as well as special group rights for minority cultures.

However, the multicultural debate in the global South is less simple. The multiculturalism advanced by Kymlicka (1995) is a liberal theory of multiculturalism and was formulated with liberal values at its core. Vitikainen (2009:53) defines liberal multiculturalism as the recognition that people's cultural differences are conjoined with thecore liberal values of freedom, individuality and autonomy. Vitikainen (2009:53) also articulates that people's identities, (who they are and what they choose) are influenced by their membership in a collective cultural group. According to Maluleke (2012:4) Western cultures are more individualistic and prioritise individual achievements and personal interests in contrast to Third-World cultures which tend to be more collective, group-focused and concerned with the welfare of their cultural community.

Gouws (2014:35) finds that the notion of multiculturalism is more intricate to understand in Third-World, post-colonial countries (like South Africa), that have come to accept liberal democratic constitutional frameworks. The reason for this is because it results in interpretations that put the cultural rights of indigenous people and universal rights as a binary opposition, where culture is considered pre-modern while universal rights are related to 'modernity, individualism and enlightenment' (Gouws, 2014:35). Gouws (2014:35) explains that this Western perception of culture is rooted in interpretations of certain cultural traditions as gender unequal, which threatens and challenges liberal individualism. The treatment of women and the control of women's sexuality are at the centre of the cultural rights discourse (Gouws, 2014:35). Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:1) highlight that the debates around culture and rights are informed by 'Eurocentric civilization assumptions', which are usually not contested.

Additionally, Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:2) explain that multiculturalism is more complicated in the South, especially in post-colonial countries. Multiculturalism, as put forward by Kymlicka (1995) is orientated towards the accommodation of minority cultural groups. While 'multiculturalism' in post-colonial countries is concerned with the cultural traditions of indigenous people who have lived in countries long before the colonial rule. These groups constitute the majority of the population rather than the minority (like in the North) (Gouws & Stasiulis, 2014:2). Enslin (2001:281) echoes this argument by questioning the extent to which

the theory of group cultural rights, as in Canada and the United States of America, can be applied to a country like South Africa where multiculturalism seeks to address the interests of the majority rather than the minority. Thus, this liberal idea of multiculturalism cannot be applied to countries from the South where there is a plurality of ethnic groups. Therefore, the concept of 'multiculturalism' in this thesis is used only to indicate that there are many different cultures in one nation-state.

2.3 Comparing and Contrasting Tensions between Culture and Rights

The multicultural-feminist (culture-rights) debate was sparked in 1997 with Susan Moller Okin's popular article"Is Multiculturalism bad for women?" Her paper "invoked widespread critique" (Lamble, 2006:2), as some scholars agreed with Okin, while others had taken issue with Okin's claims.

Cultural differences are an ever-present phenomenon. Yet, in the past minority cultural groups, whether they be immigrants or indigenous, naturally assimilated into majority cultural groups (Okin, 1999:9). However, today assimilation is often found to be oppressive thus it requires the adoption of policies which are better able to respond to cultural variances (Okin, 1999:9). According to Ghobadzadeh (2010:302) Okin was one of the first scholars who applied a gender lens as a means to "critically scrutinize the theory of multiculturalism". In doing so, she shed light on how the claims of minority cultural groups conflict with the norms of gender equality (Ghobadzadeh, 2010:302). Multiculturalism effectively propagates patriarchy as the cultural practices employed by minority groups are (in many cases) considered to be discriminatory and oppressive towards women (Ghobadzadeh, 2010:302).

Numerous scholars from all over have expressed their sentiments regarding the culture-rights debate. Okin pioneered the debate with her claims that multiculturalism is an undesirable policy, as it effectively promulgates discrimination and oppression towards women (Ghobadzadeh, 2010:301). Consequently, women are incapable of self-liberation and emancipation (Ghobadzadeh, 2010:301). It is imperative to further emphasise Okin's argument. For Okin (1999:10), the tension between multiculturalism and feminism is attributed to the commitment to group rights for minority cultural groups (the argument professed by Kymlicka). Okin (1999:12) finds that multicultural defenders firstly, incorrectly treat cultural groups as monoliths and as a result, fail to realise that cultural groups are themselves gendered with clear differences in power present between sexes. Secondly, Okin

(1999:12) points out that group rights advocates fail to prioritise the private sphere as an area of concern.

In light of the above, Okin (1999:12) illuminates her argument by investigating deficiencies resulting from internal differences as well as the private sphere. Two distinct tensions between culture and gender are highlighted, both which attack the notion of group rights for minority cultural groups (Okin, 1999:12). First, 'personal law' (including sexual and reproductive) take precedence in cultural and religious traditions. Naturally, such traditions affect the lives of women and girl children to a larger degree than that of men and boys (Okin, 1999:13). The basis of Okin's claim rests on the notion that women vest more time in preserving familial, personal and reproductive life (Okin, 1999:13). This idea is supported by women's rights expert Ayelet Shachar who contends that cultural groups that enact family law leave long term damaging effects on the women who form part of the specific cultural group (Ghobadzadeh, 2010:303). Okin (1999:13) recognises that culture does not solely affect the domestic life. However, the domestic paradigm negates who is more likely to exercise power in the public sphere. For Okin (1999:13) this means, because women are expected to spend their time in the domestic sphere, they have less time to achieve equality with men in the more public spheres.

Secondly, and more directly, Okin (1999:13) problematises one of the main aims of most cultures, that women should be entirely subordinate to men. Moreover, according to Okin (1999:16) cultural practices aimed at the control of women by men are a means to render women sexually and reproductively servile to men's interests. Furthermore, Okin (1999:16) reiterates that cultural customs share an intrinsic connection with the subordination of women by men so much so "that they are virtually equated". Okin makes numerous other claims, however, this can be regarded as the essence of her argument.

Chandran Kukathas wrote a counter essay to Okin's "Is Multiculturalism bad for women?" entitled "Is Feminism bad for Multiculturalism?" The debate articulated by Kukathas pitted "Multicultural group claims for autonomy" against "feminist claims for equality" (Lamble, 2006:2). While Kukathas (2001:83) agrees with Okin that an undeniable tension exists between multiculturalism and feminism, they differ in that Okin believes that feminism should take precedence. This is contrary to Kukathas. Moreover, Kukathas (2001:87) goes as far as to agree with Okin that rights ascribed to minority cultures rather exacerbate the problem of human development, thus it is virtually impossible to dismiss Okin's argument. There is a clear conflict present between multiculturalism and feminism for Kukathas. Even

so, Kukathas (2001:92) defends multiculturalism by presenting a different conceptualisation of the notion itself. In its essence, Kukathas (2001:92) defines multiculturalism, while still rooted in liberal ideas, where a society "accommodates the diversity of groups" however, in contrast to Kymlicka, does not recognise specific group's rights for minority cultural groups. Thus for Kukathas (2001:92) there is no recognition of cultural rights, and although multiculturalism and feminism conflate, the former should prevail based on the rejection of cultural group rights. Okin and Kukathas both pronounce that a clear tension between multiculturalism and feminism exists.

Contrastingly, Volpp questions Okin's idea to posit multiculturalism and feminism as incompatible and contradictory (Volpp, 2001:1183). Volpp (2001:1183-1185) finds that through pitting feminism against multiculturalism a flawed discourse becomes evident because minority and Third-World cultures are more patriarchal than Western liberal cultures. According to Volpp (2001:1185) this discourse is based on Okin's Western feminist universalistic claims that Third-World minority cultures propagate patriarchy and perpetuate oppression and discrimination towards women while failing to consider factors such as the colonial histories of such cultures. Furthermore, Volpp (2001:1217) has reiterated that it is imperative to fully comprehendthe culture and how it shapes gender domination in communities, before making normative claims as Okin has done. In a similar vein, Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:4), although conceding that tension between multiculturalism and feminism exists, agree with Volpp.

Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:4) emphasise that Okin neglects "patriarchal roots and religious/cultural oppression in majority cultures" as well as the extent to which patriarchal and religious oppressions differ globally. Moreover, Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:4) are critical of the Western feminist concept that portrays women's agency as limited to their "resistance to patriarchy and sexism". Based on these criticisms Gouws and Stasiulis are particularly critical of the claims articulated by Okin in her multicultural-feminist debate.

In her critique on Okin, Herr (2004:74) investigates multiculturalism from the position of racial-ethnic women and provides a Third-World feminist defence of multiculturalism. In faulting Okin's claims, Herr (2004:86) traces her problematic interpretations of Third-World cultures to the adoption of two assumptions.Firstly, Okin assumes that Third-World women are subjugated by their culture (Herr, 2004:86). Herr (2004:86) highlights that Okin generally fails to include the voices of these very women, except when their statements confirm her stance and further argues that including the views of these racial-ethnic women would render

Okin's claims inadequate. Herr (2004:86) emphasises various other claims made by Okin about Third-World women, including that they cannot speak for themselves, that they suffer from 'false consciousness' and that people outside of relevant cultures can better judge social injustice than those within the culture. To this, Herr (2004:87) argues that women of Third-World countries are portrayed as "mere puppets of apatriarchal ideology" and are unable to exercise agency properly and further incapable of recognising the injustice of their situation. Herr (2004:87) underlines that Okin's claims are problematic and a condescending portrayal of Third-World women which is not supported by evidence from these women but rather, based on pervasive stereotypes of an average Third-World woman as a victim of her culture.

Herr (2004:87) explains Okin's second major mistake is that she buys into the essentialised view of minority and Third-World cultures. Herr (2004:87) explains that Okin incorrectly finds Third-World cultures as "static and backward-looking" in contrast to Western culture, which is seen as"vibrantly changing and forward-looking". Herr (2004:88) contests that the general universal position (of multiculturalism) of mainstream feminist theorists, should be met with caution as it replicates the colonial image which sees Third-World cultures as stagnant, oppressive and backward, and Third World people as gullible, childlike and lacking in agency. Herr (2004:88) argues furthermore that this universal notion privileges the social, cultural and racial position of the theorists themselves thereby enforcing a "historically reductive" and monolithic idea of gender inequality on women who have qualitatively different experiences. Thus, Herr (2004:88) highlights that the incorrect assumption of universal feminists are that they are experts on problems faced by women outside of the West, ignores the voices and experiences of those Third-World women.

Furthermore, Narayan (1998:91) responded to Okin's essay with a warning of how cultural relativism sometimes buys into essentialist notions of cultural differences which she explains is as dangerous for feminist agenda as for universalism. Narayan (1998:91) explains how the cultural differences among women create a culturally essentialist picture of certain Third-World cultures in contrast to Western cultures, therefore warns that post-colonial feminists ought to be cautious of these essentialist contrasts between Third-World and Western cultures.

For Okin, equality trumps culture. However, other scholars (including Volpp, Gouws and Stasiulis etc.) may prioritise cultural interests for other reasons. According to Knop, Michaels & Riles (2012:597) Okin's argument resonates with universal human rights declarations, therefore tends to be the dominant standpoint among scholars in the political discourse. Knop *et al*. (2012:600) further explain that another group of scholars have expressed a degree of

criticism towards Okin and other Western feminists for incorrectly regarding culture as an explanation for gender oppression within Third-World communities. Knop *et al*. (2012:600) highlight that these scholars find that Western feminists fail to see that women in the West are also culturally pressured. By underlining Western examples including premiums placed on women's beauty as well as higher statistics of cosmetic surgery among Western women than Western men, Knop *et al*. (2012:600) explain that critics find that this focus on appearance in Western societies is "wrongly understood as an individual choice". Knop *et al*. (2012:600) articulate that critics find this focus on appearance to be motivated by Western culture rather than by individual choice. The point which many critics are making is that non-Western women are incorrectly portrayed as lacking power and autonomy when it comes to their culture (Knop *et al*., 2012:601). While some Third-World cultural practices including veiling are perceived to be oppressive and discriminatory by Western feminists, critics argue that practices "are shown to be circumscribed but carefully calibrated personalized choices within certain Islamic contexts" (Knop *et al*., 2012:601).

Mohanty (1988) specifically shed light on the portrayal of Third-World women in Western scholarship. Mohanty (1988:66) problematises 'women' as a category of analysis in the first place. According to Mohanty (1988:66) 'women' are characterised as a homogeneous group who are bound together by shared oppression which includes being powerless, sexually harassed and exploited. Mohanty (1988:66) argues that 'women', as a category of analysis is used in Western feminist discourse in a manner which depicts Third-World women as a 'homogeneous powerless' group who are victims of certain cultural (and socio-economic) systems. Mohanty (1988:66) elaborates on the coherent representation of Third-World women by citing texts where Third World women are depicted as victims of male violence, victims of Arab familial system, victims of the colonial process and victims of economic development. Mohanty (1988:66) states in these texts women are defined in by the way they are or are not affected by certain systems and institutions, in other words, women are defined in terms of the object status. Thus, it is also where the use of 'women' as a category of analysis originated from. Mohanty (1988:66) therefore, argues that when Western women write about Third-World women in such a manner, this particular objectification should be challenged. Because those feminists who find Third-World cultures to be 'feudal residues' and who describe Third-World women as 'traditional' are the same feminists who portray Third-World women as "politically immature women who need to be versed and schooled in the ethos of Western feminism" (Mohanty, 1988:66).

2.4 A Southern Perspective: South Africa

2.4.1 South Africa's Past and the Importance of Culture

To consider multiculturalism in South Africa, the colonial past cannot be disregarded. Multiculturalism is more complex in post-colonial countries since these countries usually hold many different cultures and ethnic societies. Thus one cannot ignore the impact colonialism has had on Third-World countries. Some cultures were reified due to colonialism, whilst other cultures were forced to abandon some traditions of their culture under the colonial rule. Rautenbach (2010:144) finds that non-state law (customary law) resulted because of injustices of the colonial authority.

Wall (2015) explains that prior to colonisation, customary law (people's practices, customs and traditions) existed in most African states. In South Africa, the British took control of the Cape from the Dutch in 1806 and formally colonised the Cape in 1814.It was after this that customary law gained significant recognition (Wall, 2015). The British maintained Roman-Dutch law as the common law system while the Natal code of 1878 (although disorganised) codified customary law (Wall, 2015). Nevertheless, some basic principles included in the Natal code remained inherent despite revisions and amendments of the code, it is from these fundamental principles that other aspects of customary law originated (Wall, 2015). According to Wall (2015) these basic principles included "the subjugation of women to men, the subjugation of children to their father or head of the family and the rule of primogeniture". This customary law system implemented during colonialism advanced the rights of males and elders while emphasising the powerlessness of women and children (Wall, 2015). At the time, customary law was subject to a repugnancy clause which prohibited customs that conflicted with common law, thus customary existed alongside common law (Wall, 2015). When South Africa became a union in 1910, each of the territories regulated customary law according to its own legislation, but this resulted in chaos and eventually led to the Black Administration Act (formally known as the Native Administration Act) which recognised customary law as equal to common law (Wall, 2015).

Gouws (2014:42) explains that under the auspices of colonialism, the codification of customary law transferred power from communities to traditional leaders, consequently colonial rulers were better able to govern. Furthermore, Gouws (2014:42) highlights that the way in which customary law had been constructed under colonialism was profoundly gendered so much so that it became invisible. According to Gouws (2014:42) codified

customary law was a set of African customs which resulted due to "destabilizing social and political changes". Codified customary law served as an alliance between traditional male leaders (who controlled land, cattle, women and children) and colonial powers (Gouws, 2014:42). Consequently, it led to the development of legal rules that replaced "fluid and context-driven" customs, thus further entrenching colonial dominance (Gouws, 2014:42). These new rules of codified customary law held negative consequences for women, as it advanced patriarchal norms, gave senior males more power and superior status, cemented a patriarchal bias through the alteration of customs and lastly it created a more fixed division between the private and public sphere (Gouws, 2014:42).

It is not only the legacy of colonialism which affirms the importance of culture in South Africa but also the Apartheid era. Apartheid was implemented in South Africa in 1948, and it advocated separate development and racial segregation (Wall, 2015). Rautenbach (2010:143) describes that during this time 'Afrikaner Nationalism' was rife and different religious and cultural groups were kept apart from one another, as groups were not necessarily considered to be equal in terms of culture (race). Since Apartheid encouraged segregation, citizens, those belonging to 'other' cultures, were compelled to live together in close-knit communities. This led to the establishment of group identities that can still be observed in the contemporary era (Rautenbach, 2010:145). Rautenbach (2010:144) argues that while Apartheidwas abolished, the South African society remains fragmented along religious and cultural lines.

Different customary law rules were first consolidated in the Native Administration Act (under colonialism), which was changed later to the Black Administration Act, where customary law first fully recognised (Wall, 2015). Through the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, the Apartheid government introduced a hierarchy of tribal, regional and territorial authorities in traditional societies (Wall, 2015). As a result, tribes in South Africa were self-governed states which set up as formal government structures which were led by chiefs, headmen and councillors (Wall, 2015). The Bantu Authorities Act led to the promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, which allowed for the establishment of homelands as well as the development of self-governed territories (Wall, 2015). This encouraged and advanced male dominance and patriarchy, especially in rural settlements as males usually took control of territories. While it may beclear from a Northern perspective to label certain cultural practices as 'harmful' and to propose that such practices be outlawed, it is unsurprising that African states have shown resistance considering the history of colonialism and Apartheid (segregation).

2.4.2 Multiculturalism in South Africa

Attitudes towards gender equality and culture in South Africa are the focus of this research study. Therefore, it is essential to elaborate on the controversies surrounding cultural diversity in South Africa. Desmond Tutu famously declared South Africa "a rainbow nation" after Apartheid officially ended in 1994 (Scribner, 2017). With this slogan, Tutu and the rest of the South African population hoped that the country could unify and overcome its oppressive history and become a thoroughly liberal multicultural democracy (Scribner, 2017). To commit to the multicultural ideology and policy, the African National Congress (ANC) (ruling party) institutionalised numerous nation-building policies (Scribner, 2017). These policies were aimed at empowering the groups that were oppressed during the Apartheid era. It included making native languages official state languages, broadcasting news and sports news channels in English, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Zulu, and Sotho, and the new Constitution endorsed all religious, cultural and linguistic rights (Scribner, 2017). Furthermore, the new democratically elected government-directed significant attention towards black economic empowerment (BEE) policies, affirmative action, admission quotas and academic attempts at decoloniality (Scribner, 2017). Therefore, it can be said that the new South Africa actively committed towards the multicultural ideology.

Regardless, multiculturalism (as advanced by Kymlicka) is a contested concept to apply to South Africa given its liberal origins. Gouws (2014:36) articulates that liberalism places an overarching focus on the individual, it therefore cannot be viewed as cultural, as culture is usually attributed to groups. Furthermore, under liberalism, an individual is seen as autonomous with self-making and self-regulating agency with rights as well as equal standing before the law (Gouws, 2014:36). When developed, this notion of multiculturalism prioritised the rights of minority cultural groups. However, in a country like South Africa, Enslin (2001:287) highlights that the vast majority (thus not minority cultural groups) of the population is black and living under a customary law system which aids in exercising self-determination. Enslin (2001:287) notes that some customary law practices demand the subordination of women by men. Seeing that liberalism does not condone the unequal treatment of men and women, the liberal solution is to let go of parts of the traditions which perpetuate inequality, but this may undermine the value of traditions (Enslin, 2001:287). Alternatively, Enslin (2001:287) explains that if traditional leaders forgo liberal values and continue with traditions as is, it would not result in the desired liberal outcome. When investigating the liberal origins of the concept of multiculturalism, it became apparent how

problematic it is to apply multiculturalism to South Africa where cultural groups comprise the majority of the population who attributes great value to cultural traditions.

Nonetheless, the multicultural conflict in South Africa stems from the pluralistic system of government, which pose some challenges for the country's rights-based Constitution. While cultural diversity is encouraged some traditions and customs have been met with criticism, as it undermines the rights of women and girl children. The conflict between culture and rights in South Africa is by no means new. On the contrary, with the advent of democracy in 1994 during the draft of the interim Constitution, traditional leaders of cultural groups were vocal about their resistance towards committing to principles of equality, specifically gender equality (Kaganas & Murray, 1994:410). These leaders repeatedly maintained that "women are not the equals of men". Furthermore, traditional leaders argued that they are "above politics" (Kaganas & Murray, 1994:410). At the time a lobby group, led by black women, was formed to express women's sentiments towards claims made by traditional leaders, their efforts did not result in the desired effect as African customary law was left in an equal position to South African civil law (Kaganas &Murray, 1994:410). The interim Constitution, therefore guaranteed a right to participate in one's culture, and it guaranteed gender equality, thus causing a tension between culture and rights.

Albertyn (2009:166) highlights that traditional leaders failed in their attempt to separate culture and cultural rights from the Constitution. Therefore, the new Constitution which came into effect in 1996 encourages cultural rights and fundamental human rights. Albertyn (2009:166) explains that as a result of the 1996 Constitution, laws and court judgments have been put in place which secures equal rights for women living under customary law. However, according to Albertyn (2009:166) "a stubborn persistence of patriarchy" exists, meaning women's rights as enshrined in the Constitution are still heavily contested in public and private domains. Albertyn (2009:166) underlines that due to customary law, women cannot exercise many of their basic rights, including accessing communal land, as traditional male leaders hold power over property land and community. In addition to customary law, Mubangizi (2015:158) stresses that gender-based cultural and traditional practices frequently violate the sexual and reproductive rights of women, as it may directly or indirectly inflict harm on women.

By recognising the right to cultural life in the Constitution, and by accepting customary law along with civil law, South Africa has shown its commitment towards diversity, not only racially but ethnically as well. Furthermore, Grant (2006:3) notes that through the ratification

of numerous international and regional human rights treaties, South Africa has expressed its commitment towards international human rights. These include: "the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966 (ICCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979 (CEDAW), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965 (CERD) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (CRC)" (Grant, 2006:3). South Africa's dedication to the protection of human rights along with their pledge to the multicultural ideology has stirred up debate and led to a clash between culture and rights in the contemporary era.

2.4.3 Customary Law and Culture in South Africa

This research study will now turn its attention to the clash between culture and rights in terms of South Africa. South African customary law is contested. Central to this controversy is the principle of male primogeniture (Ndulo, 2011:103). This section will review instances where the principle of male primogeniture discriminated against women. Ndulo (2011:103) mentions three important cases: *Bhe v. Magistrate, Khayelitsha, Shibi v. Sithole* and *South African Human Rights Commission v. President of the Republic of South Africa.*

In the first case, *Bhe v. Magistrate, Khayelitsha*, two underage daughters were not eligible to inherit from their father's interstate estate (Ndulo, 2011:104). Section 33 of the Black Administration Act 38 of 1927 and regulation 2(e) of the Administration and Distribution of the Estates of Deceased Blacks, stipulates that minors are not recognised to inherit interstate from their father's estate (Ndulo, 2011:104). Consequently, the deceased's father was proclaimed sole heir and successor of the estate (Ndulo, 2011:104). When challenged in the High Court, section 23(2) and regulation 2(e), along with other sections of the law, it was ruled unconstitutional (Ndulo, 2011:104).

The second case, *Shibi v. Sithole,* also sees that the applicant, Ms Shibi, the deceased's sister as ineligible to inherit from the deceased's interstate estate (Ndulo, 2011:104). Even though the deceased had neither a customary nor a civil wife, no children, surviving parents or grandparents, the Black Administration Act did not consider Ms Shibi to become the heir of the deceased's interstate estate (Ndulo, 2011:104). As a result, one of the deceased male cousins was declared representative of the estate while a second male cousin was named the sole heir of the deceased's interstate estate (Ndulo, 2011:104). However, as with the *Bhe* case, this ruling did not hold upas the High Court declared Ms Shibi sole heir of her deceased brother's estate (Ndulo, 2011:104).

The last case, *South African Human Rights Commission v. President of the Republic of South Africa,* involved the South African Human Rights Commission and the Women's Legal Centre Trust. Ndulo (2011:104) states that these organisations applied to the High Court to have section 23 of the Black Administration Act declared unconstitutional, as it infringed women's rights. Ndulo (2011:104) further explains that these organisations appealed for the alternative subsections of the Act to be pronounced inconsistent with the South African Constitution, as it directly infringed on the equality provisions in section 9, human dignity in section 10 and children's rights in section 28. Consequently, the application was granted.

Ndulo (2011:105) highlights that the Constitutional Court declared that section 23 and its associated regulations were discriminatory not only on the grounds of sex and gender but also on the grounds of race. Therefore, it also stands in opposition of section 9(3) of the South African Constitution. Furthermore, Ndulo (2011:105) contends that the primogeniture rule excludes women from inheritance based on gender, and it violated the right of women to human dignity. Due to the discriminatory nature of the rule of primogeniture, the court ruled in favour of the minor daughters in the *Bhe* case and the court ruled in favour of Ms Shibi in the *Shibi* case (Ndulo, 2011:105).

These cases mentioned above demonstrate how cultural rights conflict with claims to gender equality, in terms of customary law and specifically the principle of male primogeniture in South Africa. Customary law controversies are usually related to inheritance and succession, according to Mubangizi (2012:43).The exclusion of women from inheritance and succession has its roots in a system of patriarchy that epitomises traditional African society. While scholars have become increasingly critical of customary law, adequate solutions to these tensions are yet to be found. Many scholars have reiterated that the application of male primogeniture under customary law fails to promote gender equality as laid out in the Constitution of South Africa (Wall, 2015).

Furthermore, after the *Bhe* case, it was concluded that the male primogeniture practice violate multiple constitutional provisions, including the attainment of equality and the promotion of human rights dignities and freedoms (Wall, 2015). Mubangizi (2012:43) highlights that section 23 of the Black Administration Act was declared unconstitutional while male primogeniture was also found to be unconstitutional and invalid. Additionally, Wall (2015) states that other principles of primogeniture violated different equality, discrimination and human dignity clauses of the Constitution because it directly excludes women from succession and inheritance. Wall (2015) highlights that customary law "dismiss women" and

rather than viewing women as equal members of society, they are regarded as being on the periphery of the group. Mubangizi (2012:43) states that male primogeniture discriminates against women unfairly and places them insubordinate and subservient positions.

However, this tension between culture and rights in South Africa stretches beyond male primogeniture. There are other cultural practices in South Africa which has been perceived to be harmful to women and girl children. These practices will briefly be elaborated on in order to understand the complexities of these problems in a South African context. Cultural practices which violate rights in South Africa may take many forms, some may directly inflict violence on women and girl children while others violate their human rights.

 One custom present in some South African cultures, but most prominent in the Zulu culture is virginity testing. Wadesango *et al*. (2011:126) state that virginity testing is performed so men can dominate women and for elders to control girl children. Ultimately virginity testing is conducted to control the sexuality of girl children. The practiceis also used to encourage pre-marital chastity among Zulu girls, especially in KwaZulu-Natal (Scorgie, 2002:57). Maluleke (2012:10) finds that virginity testingis also practised in the Eastern Cape among Xhosa groups and in KwaZulu-Natal. Scorgie (2002:57) underlines that since the revival of the practice it has also spread to parts of Mpumalanga. The revival of the custom in the mid-1990s can be attributed to the growing rate of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and the Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in South Africa (Leclerc-Madlala, 2001:535). George (2008:1448) articulates that the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) identified South Africa as "the country with the highest number of women infected with HIV/AIDS in the world". George (2008:1449) explains that virginity testing is praised (and politically challenged) as one of South Africa's best public health initiatives in dealing with the HIV/AIDS problem.

This explains why many cultural societies have "brought back" the custom of virginity testing. George (2008:1450) notes that virginity testing, as a cultural practice 'disproportionately impacts young unmarried women and girls.' The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child states that virginity testing poses a threat to women and girl children's health, affects their self-esteem and violates the privacy of girl children (George, 2008:1464). Nevertheless, some women contend that virginity testing is about empowering female children to resist sex and care for her body while other women make claims for gender equality by questioning whether the same is required from boys and men (George, 2008:1464).

Attitudes towards virginity testing differ between women. Some women articulated that they did not view virginity testing to be an invasion of privacy nor a violation of their right to dignity (Chakamba, 2016). In contrast another woman, speaking out on virginity testing, explains that the young ages of girls who take part in virginity testing and their lack of knowledge regarding their constitutional rights makes them vulnerable to manipulation and violation (Chakamba, 2016). Additionally, the women (who underwent virginity testing) described it to be "degrading" but she went through with it as she did not want to oppose her family (Chakamba, 2016).

In drawing attention to virginity testing from an African perspective Van der Poll (2009:11) uses the African Women's Protocol (an African instrument) to criticize the practice or virginity testing. Van der Poll (2009:11) argues that one of the preambles in the protocol state that "any practice that hinders or endangers the normal growth and affects the physical and psychological development of women and girls should be condemned and eliminated". Furthermore, Van der Poll (2009:11) highlights that the preamble encourages the promotion and protection of women's rights. In providing definitions of discrimination against women, harmful cultural practices and violence against women from the African Women's Protocol, Van der Poll (2009:12) explains that the protocol highlights that the state has an obligation to address practices which are found to be harmful to women and which endangers the health and well-being of African women.

Unlike virginity testing, there seems to be a consensus among scholars that *ukuthwala*, a custom practiced in South Africa, is considered to be harmful towards women and children as it violates numerous of their rights, mostly those of girl children (Maluleke, 2012, Mubangizi, 2012, Wadesango *et al*., 2011). According to Mubangizi (2012:40) *ukuthwala* is a custom practised mainly among Xhosa people in the Eastern Cape, however, the practice has been witnessed among Zulus in KwaZulu-Natal. Monyane (2013:68) states that *ukuthwala* has also become popular among Mpondo, Mfengu and Sotho tribes. These practices allow girls as young as 12 to be forced into marriage with older men (Mubangizi, 2012:40). *Ukuthwala* has gained increasing criticism as it exemplifies the tension between rights and culture. During *ukuthwala* a girl is taken away by a group of men, one being the future husband, the girl is then kept hidden while the two families meet to discuss marriage between the girl and her future husband (Monyane, 2013:67). However, Gouws and Stasiulis (2014:5) state that *ukuthwala*, as known today, is a distortion of the original cultural practice where the man and woman had a relationship first, and abduction was a courting ritual. *Ukuthwala* is carried out

for various reasons including avoiding wedding expenses, forcing the bride's father to consent to the marriage, speeding up matters if the girl is pregnant and many others (Monyane, 2013:68). Mwambene and Sloth-Nielsen (2011:8) make a few conclusions regarding the practice of *ukuthwala*:

1. Only unmarried girl children and women are subjected to *ukuthwala*, therefore, gender equality is questioned.

2. Because *ukuthwala* is carried out without the consent from the girl child/woman it violates their freedom, security, bodily integrity and their right to make choices (Mwambene& Sloth-Nielsen, 2011:8).

3. Mwambene and Sloth-Nielsen (2011:8) explicate that *ukuthwala* can be regarded as aform of forced marriage which consequently lead to child marriages.

Mwambene and Sloth-Nielsen (2011:8) stress that *ukuthwala* has contributed to a drastic increase in violence against women.

Another custom in South Africa is polygamy. Polygamous marriages are widespread in South Africa, mainly because it transcends the realm of culture into family law and religion (Mubangizi, 2012:41).However, polygamy, unlike *ukuthwala*, is more challenged and debated in various literature. Proponents of polygamy find nothing wrong with it and would defend it on the basis that women, who enter into a polygamous marriage, do so "freely and consensually" (Mubangizi, 2012:41). Opponents of polygamy are likely to reject it due to a Western and Christian viewpoint, which disregard spiritual and traditional thinking (Mubangizi, 2012:41). According to Geertsema-Sligh (2015:175) the controversial issue of polygamy entered South African discourse with former president Jacob Zuma's weddings in 2008, 2010 and 2012. Geertsema-Sligh (2015:179) further underlines that for Zuma, condoning and practicing polygamy links him to pre-colonial African traditions, enforcing his identity as a Zulu man, who may otherwise be lost in an increasingly globalised Western world.

Mubangizi (2012:41) emphasises that polygamy is incompatible with human rights as it reinforces, to an extent, gender inequality. In addition to gender inequality, polygamy subjects women to unfair discrimination and violates their right to dignity according to section 8(d) of the promotion of Equality and the Prevention of Unfair Discrimination (Mubanigizi, 2012:42). South African law recognises polygamy (and *lobola*) through the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act (Mubangizi, 2012:42). The Act is responsible for regulating

customary marriages which includes polygamy, but the South African civil law is silent on the question of polygamy, therefore, it is not outlawed and remains a heavily contested custom.

Lastly, *lobola*, as a standard South African practice, is reviewed. Lobola also referred to as 'bride price', is aimed at joining the families of the couple that intends to get married (Mubangizi, 2012:40). During the custom, a man pays an agreed-upon sum of money to the family of the woman he is planning to marry, only after the sum of money is paid, is the couple considered to be adequately married (Mubangizi, 2012:41). *Lobola* can either be paid with money or with cattle, it depends on whatthe families agree upon (Omarjee, 2014). Shope (2006:69) state that patriarchal power is central to debates concerning lobola. Shope (2006:69) explain that men use *lobola* to enforce their control and dominance over women in areas of household labour, reproductive potential and general decision making.

Results obtained from a survey confirmed that the majority of women (mostly rural) residing in Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape and Western Cape, understood that if a man paid *lobola* for his wife that he then 'owns' his wife which means that the wife is obliged to be intimate with her husband whenever he demands it (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002:1239). Mubangizi (2012:41) posits that opponents of *lobola* have criticised the practice for being discriminatory and a violation of women's dignity and equality. Scholars have also questioned the notion that women are being treated as commodities through the custom of *lobola* (Mubangizi, 2012:41). Nevertheless, Shope (2006:69) underscores that proponents of *lobola* are symbolic to women as it "provides them with a source of status and respect". Women themselves have contrasting views when it comes to the practice of lobola in South Africa.

2.4.4 Overcoming Tensions between Culture and Rights and Challenges thereof

This section will review some steps the government has taken to resolve multicultural conflict and also the challenges thereof. This point is important since it depicts which solutions are workable and which ones are notas well as why possible solutions have failed to produce the desired outcome. The tension referred to by most scholars is that cultural practices under codified customary law perpetuate patriarchy and negatively impact the lives of women and children (Lehnert, 2005:242). Gouws (2014:43) contends that the South African government aimed to resolve multicultural conflict through law reform (a liberal solution). Law reform, to effectively address multicultural conflict with regards to customary law in South Africa, will be examined brieflyby highlighting two recognised Acts namely, the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act and the Communal Lands Rights Act. The aim is to elucidate that

law reform is an inadequate method of combating problems resulting from customary law practices in South Africa.

2.4.4.1 The Recognition of Customary Marriages Act

The rights of women living under customary law have consistently been undermined especially in areas of marriage and succession.Therefore, the legislature and the South African courts have made an active effort to promote women's rights so, that it stands in accordance with the Constitution (Himonga, 2005:83). To further promote gender equality and non-discrimination in marital agreements, customary law, regarding marriage and succession in South Africa has been reformed through the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act (Himonga, 2005:83). According to Himonga (2005:84) the Act aimed to do so through two important reorganisations. Firstly, through creating a new and different customary marriage ruling which confines marriageto the basic principles as stipulated in the Act. And secondly, through granting particular provisions of the new Act to marriages that were entered into before the new marriage Act was passed (Himonga, 2005:84).

The Recognition of Customary Marriages Act was significant. Andrews (2007:1493) describes the Act as "an important milestone on the road to gender equality in South Africa". Andrews (2007:1493) states that the primary purpose of the Act was to give full recognition to customary marriages (those following indigenous laws) and to improve the position of women and children born into in those marriages. Therefore, the Act clearly defined the conditions of a valid customary marriage. The Act stipulated the following important requirements, amongst other requirements: that all marriages entered into should be legally registered, that minors (under 18 years) cannot enter into customary marriages and that consent must be provided from all parties to enter into the conventional marriage (Andrews, 2007:1493). Mamashela (2017:617) also underlines that the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act grants the wife equal status to that of her husband thus she possesses full legal status and could enter into contracts and obtain assets.

While the Recognition of customary Marriages Act established equality between men and women in customary marriages there were some problems. Himonga (2005:84) contests that the new Act lacked in its ability to account for vital principles employed in traditional customary law. Furthermore, Himonga (2005:84) finds that the new Act disregarded customary law, as it closely resembled existing common law. Himonga (2005:84) described the new Act as "an extension of the rules of marriage under common law" and as "common

law Africa customary marriage". Lehnert (2005:270) echoes that South African courts have been unsuccessful in their attempts to reform customary law in line with the Bill of Rights. Lehnert (2005:274) agrees with Himonga that the Recognition of the Customary Marriages Act is more representative of common law principles rather than customary law values. Lehnert (2005:246) makes a distinction between official customary law, found in legislation precedents and living customary law and communities, that carriesit out. In light of this, Lehnert (2005:274) concludes that the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act is mostly representative of official customary law as it lacks adequate research on living customary law and thus is at risk of not being obeyed by communities. Therefore, while the new Recognition of the Customary Marriage Act may have established greater equality between men and women in terms of marriage, it evaded basic principles deemed particularly significant under customary law observed in communities.

2.4.4.2 The Communal Land Rights Act

The Communal Land Rights Act in South Africawas contested regarding the land ownership reform (Mostert, 2010:298). The Communal Land Rights Act aimed to preserve and protect communal land rights because, in the past, those who lived under customary law held land communally (Claassens & Mnisi, 2009:506). The challenge was for the Communal Land Rights Act to secure 'indigenous entitlements to land that are legally vulnerable' due to discriminatory laws implemented in the past (Claassens & Mnisi, 2009:506).

These laws disregarded and diminished the status and power of women's entitlement, relative to those of men. It also undermined the strength of individuals' rights within families and by families in comparison to the top-down power concentrated in the hands of chiefs and tribal leaders (Claassens & Mnisi, 2009:506). Thus, the Act can be regarded as controversial because of this autonomy and power it authorises to traditional leaders as it allows traditional leaders to have hegemonic control over land as well as arbitrate customs (Claassens & Mnisi, 2009:506). Consequently, this leads to an unequal balance of power in rural areas. The central argument put forward by Claassens and Mnisi (2009:506) is that the strength of an individual's right to land (mainly women's right to land ownership) was denied and undermined as the Communal Land Rights Act gave traditional leaders a great deal of power to reproduce their patriarchal power. However, the Constitutional Court declared the Communal Land Rights Act as "invalid and unconstitutional"as it failed to establish

imperative constitutional requirements of which gender equality was a significant one (Claassens & Mnisi, 2009:506).

Moreover, Gouws (2014:43) indicates that the Communal Land Rights Act perpetuates colonial flaws of land ownership by disregarding the family as a legitimate institution as well as the family-structured nature of land rights under customary law that celebrates land rights on an individual and community level. Traditional leadershold power to distribute land, again, women's customary right to land is weakened as observed under the colonial and Apartheid rule (Gouws, 2014:44). Gouws (2014:44) argues that through this concept of land distribution, unmarried rural women, living on family land will be worst off. When men own land, their wives benefit from the husband's land ownership, in contrast to other women (unmarried women, divorcees and widows) who cannot benefit in any way (Gouws, 2014:44). Furthermore, Gouws (2014:44) adds that the Communal Land Rights Act challenges the local family and village forums where rights are usually discussed and negotiated by consolidating power in traditional councils. Claassens and Mnisi (2009:509) as well as Gouws (2014:44) echo that the Communal Land Rights Act "bolsters patriarchal power" subsequently diminishing the success of women's claims.

2.5 The Influence of Education

This study examines changes in attitudes towards gender equality and culture. A central component of this research study is how education impacts these attitudes. To account for the importance of education as a factor explaining changes in attitudes, the importance of social development, the rise of progressive and emancipative values will be highlighted, as well as an increase in cognitive awareness. These are all linked to the education factor of this research study.

In their investigation of gender equality and cultural change, Inglehart and Norris (2003:9) state that cultural traditions play an important role in shaping men and women's worldviews. More importantly, Inglehart and Norris (2003:9) note that glacial shifts are occurring which move away from traditional values towards more gender-equal roles. Inglehart and Norris (2003:9) find that this shift is strongly linked to the process of social development. Inglehart and Welzel (2009:34) explain that social development is a combination of social changes that are intimately linked to industrialisation. They argue that the process of social development affects all aspects of life as it brings occupational specialisation, rising education levels, urbanisation, increased life expectancy and rapid economic growth. Consequently, this results

in transformed social life and political institutions initiating mass participation and mobilisation in politics (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:34). Social development, however is not a linear process in post-colonial societies where industrialization was introduced late and in many cases never fully completed. Yet, processes of modernization had an impact on many societies, but more so in urban than rural localities.

Social and cultural changes form part of the social development process. However, these changes are not always accurately representative of the social development process (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:37). According to Inglehart and Welzel (2009:38) "a society's value system reflects an interaction between the driving forces of modernization and the persisting influence of tradition". This value system is essential considering that even though classic social development theorists predicted that ethnic traditions and religions would die out, they have proved to be resilient (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:38). Despite the notion that industrialising societies are becoming wealthier and higher educated, there seem to be no signs of a formation of a uniform global culture, due to the influence and endurance of traditional and cultural societies (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:37).

Inglehart and Norris (2003:11) articulate that the transition from traditional to secular-rational values is due to the decline of the traditional family that occurs as a result of the shift from an agrarian to industrial society (Inglehart & Norris, 2003:11). This transition leads to higher education levels, urbanisation and it creates a foundation for political participation, which results in the decline of the traditional family since changes are observed in: conventional sex roles, family and marriage (Inglehart and Norris, 2003:12).

In these traditional societies "social norms buttress traditional family values and patriarchal norms of male dominance". Therefore there is strong opposition to divorce, abortion, homosexuality as well as negative attitudes towards the role of women outside the household and familial life with childrearing and household tasks considered the primary roles of women (Inglehart & Norris, 2003:16).

Various factors, including education challenges traditional values. Therefore, there is a growing move towards secular-rational and self-expression values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:39). Inglehart *et al*. (2002:10) clarify that the traditional-secular rational values dimension represents the contrast between societies where religion is seen as very important and those where religion is less important. Societies that hold traditional values are more inclined to emphasise religion, obedience and respect for authority and national pride. However, these values tend to change as societies become more secular and rational

(Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:40). This idea is particularly significant in the context of this research study seeing it may help to understand why certain South African societies hold more traditional values than others. This is primarily related to the urban-rural locality factor of this study, as will be established later.

The movement to self-expression values prioritise freedom of expression, political activism, involvement in decision making, environmental protection, gender equality, and tolerance of ethnic minorities, foreigners, gays and lesbians (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:40). According to Bates (2014:13) "education strengthens emancipative values at both individual and societal levels", as it is likely to enhance emancipative values most strongly for individuals who reside in societies which display higher education levels.

Dalton (1984:267) investigated cognitive mobilisation in trying to explain citizens cues for political decision making. Dalton (1984:267) describes that cognitive mobilisation means that citizens are equipped with the necessary resources and skills to become politically engaged with minimal dependence on external cues. An essential source of cognitive mobilisation is education, therefore a cognitive mobilisation index was created, using education as a factor (Dalton, 1984:267). Dalton (1984:267) underscores that the highly (cognitive) mobilised are considered to be those people who possess both the motivation and skill to tackle the complexities of politics on their own. Dalton (1984:273) explains that younger citizens tend to be more cognitively mobilised, as a result of advanced industrialism which has expanded educational opportunities, changed social structure and increased access to information which can all be associated with value change. Dalton (1984:275) claims that socio-economic trends of advanced industrialism (especially in advanced democratic societies) have resulted in the establishment of post-material values that emphasise political participation and independence from political parties including other elite-controlled hierarchal organisations. Dalton (1984:275) posits that those who are grouped as cognitively mobilised citizens are more likely to hold post-material values. According to Dalton (1984:275) education coupled with political skills, challenges traditional values. Consequently, there is a rise in post-material values thus mobilising citizens into the political process.

This can be linked to the argument of value change presented by Inglehart *et al*. (2002) above. The polarisation between materialist and post-materialist values reflects a move from prioritising economic and physical security to prioritising self-expression, quality of life and subjective well-being concerns. Therefore, people are more likely to become involved in politics. Furthermore, Inglehart and Welzel (2009:38) emphasise that self-expression values

emphasise political action and freedom of choice. Inglehart *et al*. (2002:13) explain that the growing move towards post-materialist values is indicative of a larger dimension of cultural change.

Education is a vital source of cognitive mobilisation, which also challenges traditional values as a result there is a rise in post-materialist emancipative values, like gender equality. It can thus be said that higher education levels may result in less tolerance for cultural practices that undermine women's rights.

2.6 The Influence of Rural-Urban Locality

The urban and rural space in South Africa have distinct differences. These differences may cause people to hold vastly differing attitudes towards the same issue. This research study is wants to highlight why women living in rural areas might have different views towards culture, than women living in urban areas.

Urbanism has primarily been associated with deviance from traditional values (Fischer, 1975:420). According to Fischer (1975:420) patterns of unconventional behaviour in cities are central to theories related to the urbanism of the individual. Fischer (1975) elaborated on three theories which may account for why the urban space may result in deviance from traditional values. The first theory, he proposed, is directly related to the specific characteristics of individuals living in cities (urban areas) (Fischer, 1975:421). This theory sees class, ethnicity age etc. as crucial factors which influence individuals' attitudes and views in a way that may result in deviance from traditional norms and values (Fischer, 1975:421).

The second theory is more focused on ecological variables including community size, density and heterogeneity (Fischer, 1975:421). According to Fischer (1975:421) these variables play a role in the social structure and personality of individuals, resulting in a more functionally different urban society. This society deviates from the conventional way of integration, primary groups in urban communities become fragile and weak, and these urban societies tend to have less strict moral codes (Fischer, 14975:421). Fischer (1975:421) explains that living in a large space with many different types of individuals may be "overwhelming, rootless, impersonal and isolating" thus resulting in "alienation and deviance". It is therefore, the extensive heterogeneous population in urban spaces, who challenge the existing norms and traditions, to the extent that people living in urban areas may hold different values towards certain issues.

While focusing on ecological variables, Fischer (1975:421) notes a third theory of urbanism. The third theory suggests that the size of urban centres allows for the creation of many large and deviant subcultures (Fischer, 1975:421). These larger subcultures display and promote new perspectives and values, and they do so at rates usually unattainable for their rural counterparts (Fischer, 1975:421). And as a result, urban and rural individuals' perspectives may differ fromthe creation of many other different subcultures. Furthermore, both the second and the third theory propose that it is the nature of urban life which results in a deviance from traditional norms and values. Thus Fischer (1975:421) notes that "moral deviance, illegitimacy, alcoholism, divorce, religiosity, political dissent and smoking marijuana" are all closely associated with big urban spaces rather thanthe smaller, rural spaces. Fischer (1975:421) underlines that although there are exceptions to the above, a general pattern persist. Yet, urbanisation is not only linked to deviant behaviour, but the access to education and diverse cultural influences that allow individuals to challenge their own cultures due to exposure to other cultures and traditions. Cities are usually more cosmopolitan and a melting of different cultural ideas and practices.

It should be emphasized that urban areas challenges traditional norms and values. The are no biological differences between individuals in urban and rural areas. The rural space has forced individuals to live a certain way, while Fischer (1975) stressed that ecological variables i.e.size, density and heterogeneity, foster a culture of deviance and value change. In the context of this research study women residing in urban areas may hold less traditional values, therefore expressing greater intolerance towards culture and tradition.

According to Ajaero and Onokala (2013:1) people migrate from rural to urban areas in search of a better life. Furthermore Ajaero and Onokala (2013:1) highlight that rural-urban migration has increased due to the search for opportunities as a result of rural-urban inequality in wealth. This is as urban areas are characterised by wealth, assets, purchasing capacity, economic activities and a number of services while rural areas, especially is developing countries like South Africa are characterised by neglect and degradation of rural environments Ajaero and Onokala (2013:1). Thus, Ajaero and Onokala (2013:1) posit that migration from rural to urban areas is a type of survival strategy used by poor rural people. According to Çinar (2018:180) many countries and specifically developing countries have started to urbanise since the 1970s and 1980s. Çinar (2018:180) highlights that migration to more urbanised areas have transformed the social, political and economic landscapes of cities which in turn resulted in changes at societal and individual level.

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Migration and urbanisation in particular are expected to have an effect on society and individual behaviour. Urbanisation is known to transform societal organizations, the role of the family, demographic structures, the nature of work and employment and the manner in which an individual chooses to live and work (The Social Impacts of Urbanization, 2021). The first social change resulting from urbanisation relates to fertility rates. Birth rates tend to drop as families become smaller because parents are having fewer children in urban areas, in contrast to rural areas which is typically characterised by larger families (The Social Impacts of Urbanization, 2021). Secondly, families and living arrangements also differ in urban areas. While rural areas are made up of a traditional family with parents and children, in urban areas there is a decline in the status of the family and an emergence of a non-traditional family (those without two parents/children) (The Social Impacts of Urbanization, 2021).

Çinar (2018:178) concludes that urbanisation is a powerful force in female empowerment. Çinar (2018:178) highlights that the alterations in the social fabric of societies at a macro and individual level typically leads to greater emancipation and economic affluence. Çinar (2018:178) posits that urbanisation tends to have a positive effect on women (and men). For women specifically, Çinar (2018:180) explains that as a result of urbanisation women are able to gain better education, enter into the labour market and take part in political life. Additionally, Çinar (2018:180) explains that women in urban centres can determine the number of children they have and also invest in themselves and their children. Çinar (2018:186) specifically underlines the advancement of female empowerment in the areas of education as it leads to empowerment in social relations, increases women's human capital and decreases discrimination in economic markets.(This is crucial to consider not only for the urbanisation factor of this study but the education factor as well).

Similarly, Bello-Bravo (2015:2) explains that female migration from rural to urban centres hold a range of advantages for women. Firstly, migration results in financial and social empowerment including: independence, economic attainment through trading with others in urban centres and networking to locate better economic opportunities (Bello-Bravo: 2015:2). Bello-Bravo (2015:2) also finds that when women migrate to urban centres they are able to accomplish their economic needs as opposed to just accompanying their husbands. Furthermore, in his account of women empowerment and urbanisation Ali Ghaffar (2014) states that in general, women have a large share in labour but are paid significantly less and consequently live in poverty. Furthermore, Ghaffar (2014) states that women also have less participation in cultural and social norms. To this, Ghaffar (2014) highlights that

"urbanisation is the most irreversible and powerful force in the world". This is as individuals in urban areas typically are afforded access to resources.

Thus this section elucidated first how urban areas challenge traditional norms mostly embedded in rural areas. Additionally this section highlighted the impact of increasing migration from rural areas to urban areas, especially the impact on women (as this study is concerned with women's attitudes)

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter investigated multiculturalism in South Africa and in doing so, laid out the controversies and main tensions surrounding culture and rights in post-colonial South Africa. One cannot deny that culture is important however, the embrace of culture in certain countries, like South Africa, has been met with scrutiny. This chapter has placed an emphasis on the feminist critique of multiculturalism. Susan Okin examined multiculturalism with a gender lens and concludes that cultural practices are often discriminatory towards women.This chapter has revealed that within the multiculturalism feminist discourse, there is a difference in opinion between First and Third-World feminists. Third World feminists have criticised Okin for viewing other cultures as more patriarchal than her own, and are particularly critical of Okin's lack of understanding towards the complexities of multiculturalism in the global South.

This chapter explored the idea of multiculturalism in South Africa. It highlighted the importance of cultural diversity, especially since colonialism and Apartheid. By underlining different cultural practices and traditions under customary law in South Africa, this chapter can make three important conclusions:

1. That the right to participate, in cultural life, is protected under the Constitution.

2. Basic human rights are protected under the Constitution.

3. And more importantly, those within the culture may have vastly different attitudes towards cultural practices than those judging from the outside, which makes solving multicultural conflict complicated.

The next section of the chapter showed that law reform failed to solve multicultural tensions, mainly because it evaded significant principles of customary law. Chapter Two concluded

with a consideration of the two central factors of this research study, i.e., education and urban-rural locality, including how these factors are likely to impact attitudes.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to laying out the research design and explaining the steps taken to measure women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture. The primary goal of this chapter is to ensure that the research process is carried out in the best possible manner to reach the research objectives and answer the overarching research question.

According to Yilmaz (2013:311) qualitative and quantitative research are the two primary forms of research. While this study acknowledges that each approach has its strengths, this study will employ a quantitative research design as well as a quantitative data analysis method. Further justifications on the specific research design and methodology are elucidated throughout this chapter.

The chapter will elaborate on the research design and data collection as well as explain the means for data processing and analysis. The data process and analysis is presented according to the three sub-research questions. This section also includes information regarding the sample and key variables, as this is important in helping to understand the effectiveness of the survey. Furthermore, this chapter identifies the limitations and delimitations of the study. In conclusion, the ethical considerations of the study are also noted.

3.2 Research Design

Neuman (2011:167) explains that empirical data should be collected systematically to examine data patterns and understand and account for social life. To gather data, a quantitative research design was adopted, including survey research based on secondary data. First, a distinction between quantitative and qualitative research needs to be completed. Quantitative research is broadly described as a type of empirical study into a human problem or social phenomenon by testing a theory through the use of variables measured with numbers and analysed with statistics, to establish whether the theory forecasts phenomena of interest (Yilmaz, 2013:311). Quantitative research is the use of numerical data analysed with mathematically based methods, especially statistics (Yilmaz, 2013:311). The central aims of quantitative research include: making predictions, testing hypotheses and assessing cause-and-effect relationships (Weiten, 2018:63).

In sharp contrast, qualitative research is rather multifaceted as it is underpinned by various paradigms (Yilmaz, 2013:311). Qualitative research delivers findings not reached through the use of statistics or quantification. Yilmaz (2013:312) defines qualitative research as an "emergent, inductive, interpretive and naturalistic approach". In order to study cases, people, social situations, phenomena and processes in their natural surroundings with the aim of disclosing meanings that people can connect to their experiences of the world. Thus, quantitative data is usually expressed in the form of numbers while qualitative data is reported in the form of images, objects and words (Neuman, 2011:10). While the purpose of quantitative research is more direct, a qualitative research approach aims to understand and interpret social interactions (Weiten, 2018:63).

Each research type possesses its own characteristics, distinguishing the one from the other. Each approach has strengths and weaknesses and the research approach likely to work best is dependent on the nature of the research study. In this case, a quantitative approach was the chosen research design to solve the research problem best, as this study seeks to understand attitudes of a large group (women) and needs to therefore make a general conclusion based on a large sample. According to Morgan (2014:50) quantitative research seeks to understand a more substantial number of people in a way which extends to a wide range of settings. Morgan (2014:50) also articulates that research questions are formulated in terms of variables which serve as elements in abstract models. This study investigates whether South African women's attitudes are shaped toward gender equality and culture either by their urban-rural locality or their level of education. As such, women's attitudes toward culture and gender equality are the dependent variable while urban-rural locality and level of education are the study's independent variables.

A quantitative research approach is best suited for this study because it utilises deductive reasoning. Research can mainly be inductive or deductive. The former is usually linked to a qualitative research approach while the latter tend to be associated with a quantitative research approach (Morgan, 2014:47). Babbie (2010:51) notes that deductive research starts with general theory from which one may derive hypotheses. The literature regarding attitudes and urban-rural locality and level of education is laid out in Chapters One and Two, from which six hypotheses were generated. Contrastingly, inductive research moves from concrete observations to general theoretical explanations (Babbie, 2010:51). Furthermore, Morgan (2014:48) states that inductive research is directed towards discovery and exploration, whereas deductive research is aimed towards cause and effect. A deductive approach was

chosen given that this research study is not exploratory, but alternatively seeks to test the impact of urban-rural locality, and the effect level of education has on women's attitudes toward gender equality.

Contributing to the choice of a quantitative research design is this study's descriptive nature. Akhtar (2016:68) emphasises that numerous research types exists, these include exploratory, descriptive, explanatory and experimental research. However, this study mainly consists of descriptive research. Akhtar (2016:75) defines descriptive research as statistical research since it "describes phenomena as they exist". Akhtar (2016:75) explains that descriptive research provides answers to: who, where, what, how, and when questions. The research questions of this study mainly focus on the 'what' questions and will yield answers consistent with descriptive research. Furthermore, Akhtar (2016:76) also notes that a descriptive research study investigates a person's attitudes or views towards a certain issue. Since this study explores women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture, it further reflects the descriptive research. Although this study is largely descriptive, it is also explanatory. Akhtar (2016:78) explains that the hypothesis in explanatory research describes a possible relationship between two or more variables. In this study, the hypotheses seek to offer explanations for attitudes towards culture and gender equality based on education and locality. Akhtar (2016:78) highlights that explanatory research is useful in determining the 'why' aspect of correlations.

The large sample size of deductive reasoning and descriptive research that are available are the main reasons why a quantitative research design is best suited for this study. Quantitative research has many strengths which aid in solving this study's research problem and answering the research questions. Yauch and Steudel (2003:473) find that quantitative research is advantageous since it can be administered and assessed rapidly, which is beneficial for all research studies. Additionally (and more applicable to this study) Yauch and Steudel (2003:473) emphasise that quantitative research through the use of numerical data makes it possible to draw comparisons between groups or organisations and allows the researcher to establish the extent to which respondents agree or disagree. Thus, in this study, the researcher can draw comparisons between locality and education including ascertaining the influence that these two factors may have on women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture.

Quantitative research is advantageous, as large sample sizes allow for general conclusions to be made (Morgan, 2014:50) which is specifically helpful in this research study, as previously mentioned. Also, quantitative research can not only determine the relationships between

different groups (variables) but through the use of concrete data (numbers) it can evaluate the statistical significance of those relationships (variables). It can also assess the degree to which those findings are valid and reliable (Perl & Noldon, 2000:40). Quantitative research is therefore beneficial as it is the only way to deal with large samples when exploring attitudes of large groups of people.

As observed above there is great value in quantitative research, and even though quantitative research has numerous advantages, it also has its disadvantages. Particularly, some of the strengths of quantitative research can also be weaknesses (Choy, 2014:102). Firstly, all the data collected cannot be reduced into numerical data. There are many significant characteristics of communities, (wealth and location status) and of people, for instance perceptions, identities and beliefs, which cannot plainly be understood without considering the local context (Choy, 2014:102). Although a large sample size is one of the key strengths of quantitative research, it can be regarded as a weakness because large-scale research may be more challenging to obtain (especially in developing countries) due to a lack of resources which ultimately result in a less thorough quantitative evaluation (Choy, 2014:102). Lastly, quantitative survey research is limited in its ability to provideand in-depth description of data results (Choy, 2014:104).

3.3 Data Collection: Survey Research and Secondary Data Analysis

The data collection process includes the gathering and measuring of information on variables. Data collection is usually carried out systematically to ensure that all research questions are answered accurately to test hypotheses and evaluate various outcomes (Data Collection, 2005). The data collection method is mainly dependent on the research design approach. As noted this research design is a quantitative one, with the use of secondary survey research to collect data. First, quantitative survey research will be reviewed in order to understand the choice of secondary survey research for this specific study.

Neuman (2011:49) defines survey research to be the use of formal interviews or written questionnaires to collect information on the backgrounds, beliefs, attitudes or behaviours of a large number of people in a relatively short period. Brady (200:47) boldly described surveys as "powerful collectors and accurate magnifiers of information". According to Babbie (2010:254) surveys are an old research technique dating as far back as the ancient Egyptian rule. Babbie (2010:254) finds that in the contemporary era, survey research as a mode of observation is frequently used in social sciences.

Survey research is often times achieved using a random sampling[10] technique, thus making it possible to generalise information validly from a few people to many people (Neuman, 2011:49). Brady (2000:47) underscores that a large representative sample means that researchers will not have to rely on personal acquaintances or anecdote to explore information concerning a group, instead, the survey method can provide an unbiased account of information. Neuman (2011:49) explains that survey data is represented using charts, graphs, and tables and then analysed using statistics. Furthermore, when comparing survey research to fieldwork research, Gable (1994:114) finds that fieldwork is a weak method for "objectively verifying hypotheses", whereas survey research is a more robust method.

Survey research can best prove or disprove hypotheses because it can accurately account for the norm, highlight extreme outcomes and express associations between variables in a sample (Gable, 1994:114). It is imperative, as this study seeks to accept or reject the proposed hypotheses laid out in Chapter One. Lastly, Kelley *et al*. (2003:262) emphasise that survey research is extremely valuable as it can generate a large amount of data in a short time consequently allowing researchers to set a finite time-span for a research project which can assist in effective planning and ultimately delivering results. Brady (2000:48) highlights survey research as being central to understanding politics and providing "exciting and important research on politics".

As previously mentioned, this study employs quantitative survey research based on secondary data analysis. Secondary data analysis is a type of research where data is collected and processed by a researcher, then re-analysed by a different researcher for another purpose (Babbie, 2010:288). Consequently, data sets are collected and archived by researchers and organisations to use at a later stage for a different research problem (Hox & Boeije, 2005:593). The other form of data collection is primary data, which is data obtained for a specific research problem while using procedures that are best suited to try and solve the problem (Hox & Boeije, 2005:593). Secondary data analysis uses existing statistics and therefore is a cost-effective data collection strategy (Neuman, 2011:384). Additionally, Neuman (2011:384) underlines that secondary data analysis is useful as it allows for comparisons across nations, groups or time, it aids replication, and it allows for the exploration of different issues not necessarily considered by the primary researcher.

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[10] Random sampling is a technique used in research whereby the selected sample is chosen at random/ by chance (Babbie, 2010:192).

Disadvantages of secondary analysis include that the data may not be appropriate for the research study and thus cannot measure the study's hypotheses. However, the dataset utilised for this study has been carefully considered. It is appropriate since it is a gender survey that includes questions regarding culture as well as information concerning the study's two focus variables: locality and education. Furthermore, secondary data analysis is limited since it can lead to "fallacy of misplaced concreteness".[11] The researchers can fail to apply the correct unit of analysis, and the reliability and validity of the secondary analysis can be flawed, in addition, data can be missing or never collected which pose serious problems for the researcher.

The quantitative survey that this study will use to explore women's attitudes and further to accept or reject the presented hypotheses is the project, *Gender Survey,* conducted in July 2018. One can access the survey via Citizen Surveys, commissioned by The South African Research Chairs Initiative (SARChi) and Chair in Gender Politics Professor Amanda Gouws.[12] Washeelah Kapery founded Citizen Surveys in 1996 as a marketing and social research company that conducts both qualitative and quantitative research (Citizen Surveys, 2019). Citizen Surveys is a recognised research company as they operate nationally and internationally. They have also worked with many different clients, including: government departments, universities, private sector corporations, development agencies and non-governmental organisations (Citizen Surveys, 2019). The company emphasises that they are committed to producing reliable research to facilitate decision-makers by creating solutions to problems. Citizen Surveys mainly focus on and specialise in national and longitudinal research studies (Citizen Surveys, 2019).

As this study utilises survey research, drawing on Inglehart and Norris (as laid out in Chapter Two) to account for certain findings is justified. Inglehart and Norris investigated the rising tide of gender equality and culture in a cross national comparative study through the use of survey research. Similarly, this study makes use of survey research to investigate women's perceptions towards gender equality and culture based on their urban rural locality and level of education. Thus, the findings from their (Inglehart and Norris) study are valid and reliable and can account for certain findings found while carrying out this research.

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[11] Fallacy of misplaced concreteness is when excess digits in quantitative measures are used to show the (mis)impression that the data is accurate (Neuman, 2011:385).

[12] The dataset will be housed in a data depository at Stellenbosch University.

3.4 Data Source: Gender Survey

The above describes the data collection procedure. Still, to better understand how the effectiveness of the dataset used, it is essential to know the sample used to carry out this survey research. Below is an in-depth description of the sample of the gender survey used for this research study. The following section of this chapter will further elaborate on the variables used and how data was gathered to provide information on the important variables of this study as well as to obtain the data to answer each research question and related hypotheses.

The sample has been designed as a nationally-representative, stratified random probability sample of 1,300 South African adults aged 18 years and older.

Probability sampling in the context of a household survey refers to the means by which the elements of the target population are selected for inclusion in the survey, such as the geographic units (the enumeration areas or EAs) the dwelling units/households in an EA, and persons aged 18 years and older in the selected household.

The requirements for probability sampling are that each element must have a known and positive chance of being selected and it must be numerically calculable. It is this mathematical nature of probability samples that permits scientifically-grounded estimates to be made from the survey. Since probability sampling techniques are used the sample data can be used to estimate the population parameters.

In analysing the survey results, we can thereby draw conclusions about the South African population of 36-million adults, and not simply about the obtained sample of 1,300 cases.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted at the respondent's homes, using CAPI (computer-aided personal interviews) on an 8" tablets (Citizen Survey Technical Report, 2018).

To ensure good coverage and the best possible precision per stratum, province, geographic area (Metro / Urban Non-Metro / Rural) and dominant race group were used as the explicit stratification variables in the selection of EAs (enumeration areas).

3.5 Data Process and Analysis

As mentioned, to answer the research questions and to explore women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture this study will use the data from the gender survey conducted in 2018. The quantitative data programme used to generate these findings is the Statistical

Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). SPSS is a number of software programs combined in one package and it is used to analyse specific data (Thomes, 2018). The researcher selected the most relevant questions from the survey questionnaire that could best assist in answering the sub-questions as well as the primary research question of this study. A description of the data process will be laid out according to the research questions.

First, cross-tabulations are employed to reveal the differences in attitudes based on urban-rural locality and level of education. Cross-tabulation is a quantitative method used to analyse the relationship between multiple variables (Aprameya, 2016). Cross-tabulation is useful as it can show the relationship changes from one variable grouping to another (Aprameya, 2016). Additionally, cross-tabulations as a method of statistical analysis is valuable as it can determine trends, patterns and probabilities within raw data (Aprameya, 2016). Aprameya (2016) notes that cross-tabulations are specifically useful for descriptive analysis.

Furthermore, to do statistical tests correlation coefficients (also called summary statistics) are performed. De Vaus (2013:254) defines correlation coefficients as an index which provides information on the extent and character of the relationship between two variables. Thus, correlation coefficients as measures of association, can also be regarded.

Summary statistics were chosen based on each cross-tabulation to generate inferences for research question one. The summary statistics are also used to determine the extent of associations. Furthermore, the choice of the summary statistic is dependent on the level of measurements of variables in the cross-tabulations including on the number of categories within the two variables (De Vaus, 2013:258). In this study, Gamma is considered for the analyses with locality while Kendall's Tau C is used for analyses of level of education. This is because De Vaus (2013:262) explains that when the variable is nominal and the other ordinal, where one variable is also dichotomous, the other variable is best used to determine the appropriate correlation coefficient. Therefore, when running cross-tabulations with locality (a dichotomous variable in this study) Gamma is the appropriate correlation coefficient as the rest of the variables are ordinal thus variables should both be treated as ordinal, and therefore Gamma is considered. De Vaus (2013:258) notes that Gamma should also be considered when variables do not have many response categories.

Furthermore, De Vaus (2013:270) highlights that Kendall's Tau C is best used when working with two ordinal variables, where one of the two ordinal variables have many response categories, hence for the analyses with education, the appropriate correlation coefficient is Kendall's Tau C as education is an ordinal variable with quite a few response categories. In

contrast, the other variables in the analyses have fewer response categories. The correct summary statistic will be included below with each cross-tabulation table along with the statistical significance of the test.[13] The statistical significance of results are expressed as a p-value between 0 and 1, the smaller the p-value, the more likely the null hypothesis can be rejected (McLeod, 2019).[14]

3.5.1 Descriptive Analysis: Key variables

The first section of the data process focuses on describing the general data of the sample. Univariate analyses by means of frequencies will be used descriptively to provide information on the sample. This information relates to the most essential and appropriate factors of the study. These factors include demographic information such as sex, area, level of education as well as information regarding culture.

For demographic information, the question which asks the respondent's sex *(question 38),* is a dichotomous variable which consists of two response categories: male and female which were kept as is, as the study specifically seeks to highlight attitudes of women. The questions on urban-rural locality *(MET_UR variable)* and level of education *(question 45)* are the study's independent variables since the study aims to establish what the influence of these variables are on women's attitudes. The question regarding the area was a nominal variable consisting of three response categories, namely: metro, urban and rural. The researcher recoded this variable into two response categories: urban and rural, by collapsing metro and urban into urban and keeping rural as is. The question on education consisted of eleven ordinal response categories ranging from no schooling to post-graduate, which the researcher recoded into six simple response categories, namely: no schooling, primary schooling, secondary schooling, tertiary schooling, refused and don't know.

The last variable in this section measures the importance of culture to respondents *(question 23).* It is also an ordinal variable consisting of six response categories ranging from very

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[13]De Vaus (2013:258) highlights that it is difficult to point out what exactly constitutes a weak, moderate or strong correlation. This study will use a rough rule of thumb to classify the strength of correlations which will be used to make interpretations. The rule of thumb: correlations less than 0.10 = weak/small associations, correlations that are 0.30 = moderate/small associations and correlations which are 0.50 = strong/large associations.

[14]A p-value (probability value) less and equal to 0.05 can be regarded as statistically significant (to the wider population) as it suggests that there is only a 5% chance that results occurred at random while a p-value of higher than 0.05 is regarded as not significant and in such a case, the null hypothesis is accepted McLeod, 2019). Thus De Vaus (2013:264) explains that the lower the p-value the less likely that a correlation was produced by a sampling error.

important to not at all important as well as refused and don't know.[15] The researcher recoded this variable into five categories namely: important, not very important, not at all important, refused and don't know. The researcher decided to recode certain variables in order to simplify the results for the analysis. Below is a table which includes the variables used for this section, however all the variables plus their relevant coding categories can be found in appendix A.

Table 3.1Questions used for section 3.5.1

Question number	Question
MET_UR	Area.
Q23:	How important are your culture and values to you?
Q38:	Respondent's sex.
Q45:	What is the highest level of education you have completed?

3.5.2 Research Question One

The first research question is: *How important is culture to South African women?* This question aims to discover if the first two hypotheses can find support.

Hypothesis One: *Culture is more important to rural women than to urban women*

Hypothesis Two: *Less-educated women will attribute greater importance to culture than more educated women when cultural practices conflict with women's rights.*

A cross-tabulation of the importance of culture by locality and by the level of education is performed in SPSS to measure the first and second hypothesis. For this analysis, the variables used were recoded as mentioned above. Cross-tabulations, along with the appropriate correlation coefficient, will aid in answering the first research question. The appropriate correlation coefficient will be included below each cross-tabulation table for research question one.

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[15] Response categories such as 'refused' and 'don't know' have been included when running simple frequencies in order to show how many respondents refused to answer and how many simply did not know the answer. However, these response categories have been excluded from all variables when doing simple cross tabulations and when running inferential statistics to avoid obtaining distorted results.

Table 3.2Questions used for research question one

Question number	Question
MET_UR	Area.
Q23:	How important are your culture and values to you?
Q38:	Respondent's sex (in order to eliminate men from the sample)
Q45:	What is the highest level of education you have completed?

3.5.3 Research Questions Two and Three

Research questions two and three aims to investigate further the influence of locality and level of education on gender equality and culture. For these two research questions, two themes are identified: Gender Equality and Culture. It is important to highlight that the survey instrument used was designed to measure a gender gap in attitudes toward gender equality and culture. The items used to measure culture were intended to measure the attitudes of women and men, but since I only selected the women in the sample it may come across as a strange operationalization of cultural perceptions. These items, however, had the highest factor scores of the factor analysis that was performed on all the items and therefore measures an underlying construct of culture that is used as the operationalization for this thesis.

The second research question is: *What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and urban-rural locality?* For this question, there are two hypotheses (hypotheses three and four of this study).

Hypothesis Three: *Rural women will hold more positive views of culture and cultural traditions.*

Hypothesis Four: *Urban women will show greater intolerance towards cultural practices when it infringes on individuals' basic human rights and undermine principle of gender equality.*

The third research question asks: *What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and level of education?* For this question, again, there are two hypotheses (hypotheses five and six of this study).

Hypothesis Five: *Less-educated women who do not hold emancipative and self-expression values will not challenge traditional norms, nor are they likely to reject cultural practices which are not gender-equal.*

Hypothesis Six: *Women who have higher education levels are more likely to embrace emancipative values, therefore, will reject cultural traditions when they infringe on their human rights and challenge principles of gender equality.*

To investigate hypotheses three to six and to answer research questions two and three, the researcher selected specific themes according to which bivariate analyses will be conducted and which will help to best answer the research question. As mentioned the two main themes are: Gender Equality and Culture. To investigate gender equality question 11 from the survey is used. Question 11 is a battery of Likert scales (also called interval scales) ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The questions mostly relate to gender stereotypes, social values and attitudes of the role of men and women in society. For this question, there were many indicators. The researcher therefore, first performed a factor analysis. A factor analysis is a way of reducing many variables into a smaller relevant list to make it more manageable and understandable (Statistics How To, 2020). In this regard, indicators with factor loadings higher than .6 (point six) were used to run cross-tabulation tables by locality (for research question two) and education (for research question three)[16]. The factor loading score for the chosen items, from question 11 to measure gender equality, were as follows: question 11B = .633, question 11D = .623, question 11I = .688, question 11L = .604, question 11Q = .557. Question 11 consists of six response categories which the researcher recoded into four categories. The researcher recoded these variables by combining strongly agree and agree into agree, and by combining strongly disagree and disagree into disagree while retaining "refused" and "don't know" categories. However "refused" and "don't know" categories have been excluded when generating cross tabulation tables and summary statistics. This was done to reduce the data and to answer the research question in the best way.

The second theme examines culture. Question 24 was used for this theme. Question 24 consists of a number of statements relating to culture and cultural values and for each statement respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they agree or disagree. This question also consists of many indicators therefore a factor analysis was again performed

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[16] Please see appendix A for a detailed table including indicators used and coding categories.

before generating cross-tabulation tables. Only variables with factor loadings higher than .6 (point six) were used. The factor loading score, from question 24 to measure culture, for the chosen items for culture were as follows: question 24C = .656, question 24D = .644, question 24F =.698, question 24J = .624, question 24M = .629, question 24P = .616.

The researcher recoded these variables the same way as for gender equality, (combining strongly agree and agree into agree and combining strongly disagree and disagree into disagree, and retaining "refused" and "don't know" categories). Cross-tabulations by urban-rural locality for research question two, and level of education for research question three were performed, and the correct summary statistic was chosen to make inferences.[17] Again, locality and level of education were used as recoded for section 3.5.1.

Table 3.3Questions used for research question two and three: Gender Equality

Question number	Question
MET_UR	Area.
Q45:	What is the highest level of education you have completed?
Q38:	Respondent's sex (to eliminate men from the sample).
Q11b:	On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.
Q11d:	On the whole, men make better business executives than women do.
Q11i:	Men should always be the head of the household.
Q11l:	When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.
Q11q:	A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled.

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[17] Refer to appendix A for a detailed table with the indicators used for gender equality and cultural values as well as relevant coding categories.

Table 3.4Questions used for research question two and three: Culture and Cultural Perceptions

Question number	Question
MET_UR	Area.
Q45:	What is the highest level of education you have completed?
Q38:	Respondent's sex.
Q24c:	In your culture a woman should listen to her husband.
Q24d:	Women should take their husbands last name when they get married.
Q24f:	Women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak.
Q24j:	Men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak.
Q24m:	Women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture.
Q24p:	Traditional leaders play an important role in society.

3.6 Rationale for not controlling for Other Variables in the Statistical Analysis

There is a type of correlation (called partial correlation) that can be done that allows one to explore the associations and relationships between two variables (in this study between attitudes of women and the two independent variables: education levels or locality) while controlling for other variables (when the effects of a third variable are held constant) (Warner, 2007:378). The researcher acknowledges that numerous additional variables may shape and influence the relationship between various attitudes and the two independent variables: education levels or locality. In other words, the attitudes of women towards cultural values and practices (dependent variable) based on the independent variables may change when a third variable is taken into account in the analysis. Additional third variables might intuitively include a woman's age, or her marital status since both might exert some influence over how attitudes are formed. Ideally, research designs should aim to explore the relationship between the two chosen variables of interest while statistically controlling for the effect of other variables that might influence the relationship.

However, this research design has deliberately simplified the analysis for parsimonious reasons and thus limits its analysis to explore only bivariate relationships between attitudes and the two independent variables: education levels or locality. Other controlling variables are not included in the analysis because this would produce a significant amount of additional data analysis and subsequent discussion that would exceed the word limit of a Master's thesis. Moreover, the dataset is already filtered by gender and all the data analysis is limited to female respondents only. Thus, the sample size is already dramatically reduced. Controlling for third variable may necessitate splitting the dataset further. However, further reduction of sample size may undermine the robustness and reliability of the statistical findings. When the number of cases within groups on variable categories become very smallthe findings are unlikely to be reliable because they do not meet minimum sample sizes required for statistical analysis (Field, 2009:186). The other statistical method available to researchers in order to control for additional variables is to employ regression analyses. However this advanced statistical method is beyond the scope of a Master's thesis.

3.7 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

Like any research study, this study has limitations. Firstly, although it was confirmed that a quantitative approach was needed to make a generalisation based on a large sample size it is limited, since it cannot provide detail as to why women hold certain attitudes towards gender equality and culture. Thus, it can only give a broad picture of the findings and cannot necessarily account for a more nuanced exploration of women's sattitudes. Secondly, because the study is based on secondary analysis of primary data, the researcher could not choose the specific questions asked to respondents. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the questions from the survey used are considered to be highly appropriate for this study, as it facilitated the researcher in answering the research questions and proving/disproving the hypotheses.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

This research study did not directly involve interviews or human participants and draws solely on secondary data that has already obtained ethical clearance it is therefore considered to be a low risk study. This study was granted ethical clearance by the Research Ethics Committee (REC): Social, Behavioural and Education Research, under the project number REC-2020-14930. The dataset will be housed in a repository by the SU Ethics Committee.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter justifies the use of a quantitative research design for this specific study. By elaborating on the advantages of quantitative research it provided greater clarification as to why this was the best approach towardinvestigating this study's research problem. Through the use of quantitative data measurements in SPSS, bivariate analysis was used to determine whether education and urbanisation may influence women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture. This chapter also recognised the limitations of this study. Chapter Four will focus on presenting the findings/results from the data analysis.

Chapter 4: Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the data analysis in order to answer the research questions. The main focus of the chapter is to establish the influence of urban-rural locality and level of education on women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture. This chapter is structured according to two important themes, gender equality and culture, and each will aid in answering the sub-research questions. Also, each of these themes explores the significant dimensions of women's attitudes toward gender equality and culture. This chapter first gives a descriptive analysis of the key variables of this study. Henceforth, the data with the assessment, according to the three sub-research questions and the related hypotheses, are presented. The findings are also discussed in relation to the literature of urban-rural locality and level of education as laid out in Chapter Two.

4.2 Descriptive Analysis: Key Variables

The frequency tables below provide the distribution of responses across each key variables used in the analyses. While running the data for analyses, the sample was filtered by sex to provide data for women only, because the focus of this study is the extent to which women (specifically) differ from one another. Univariate analyses by means of frequencies were run to obtain the tables for this section. "Refused" and "Don't know" categories were included in frequency tables in order for the reader to see exactly how many respondents refused or did not know how to answer.

Firstly, the sample was almost equally split in terms of sex, as males comprised slightly less (48.2%) than females (51.8%) *(Table 4.1)*. With regards to urban-rural locality (the one independent variable) most women (64.5%) indicated that they reside in urban areas, while the rest are concentrated in rural areas *(Table 4.2)*. The second independent variable of this study is level of education. Two thirds of the women indicated that they received some form of secondary schooling (67.6%). Only 4.3% of the women in this sample received no schooling while a few women (14.4%) also received some form of tertiary education *(Table 4.3)*. The last table *(Table 4.4)* focuses on the importance of culture and cultural values. To this, the majority of women (88.5%) noted that culture and cultural values are important to

them, while only very few respondents (2.6%) indicated that culture and cultural values are not important to them at all. This is pertinent as the study's encompassing focus is on attitudes towards culture (and gender equality).

Table 4.1 Sex

	Percentage
Male	48.2
Female	51.8
Total	100.0

Table 4.2 Urban-rural locality of women

	Percentage
Urban	64.5
Rural	35.5
Total	100.0

Table 4.3 Level of Education of women

	Percentage
No formal schooling	4.3
Primary schooling	12.8
Secondary schooling	67.6
Tertiary education	14.4
Refused	.9
Total	100.0

Table 4.4 The importance of cultural and values of women

	Percentage
Important	88.5
Not very important	8.1
Not at all important	2.6
Refused	.0
Don't know	.8
Total	100.0

4.3 Research Question One

The first research question explores the extent to which education levels and urban-rural locality shape women's perceptions about the importance of their culture. This study has established that culture and values are important, thus by determining the degree of

importance, this study hopes to understand if and why women embrace culture, even when it sometimes conflict with their human rights. The first research question is: *How important is culture to South African women?* For this question, this study aims to test two hypotheses.

Hypothesis one: Culture is more important to rural women than to urban women.

Hypothesis Two: Less-educated women will attribute greater importance to culture than more educated women.

From the table above *(Table 4.4),* it is already evident that culture is important to most South African women, as an overwhelming majority of women indicated that culture and values are important. Furthermore, Table 4.5 below shows that in the entirety, there was not much difference between urban and rural women's perceptions towards the importance of culture. It can be concluded that both urban and rural women in South Africa regard cultural and values as important. There was only a .3% difference with more urban than rural women indicating that cultural values are not important at all, thus in this case there was again not any difference at all. Furthermore, the positive correlation coefficient (Gamma) is indicative that more urban than rural women regard culture as important. While the coefficient is significant, the correlation is weak. In this case, hypothesis one does not support the hypothesis that more urban than rural women regard culture as important. However, it is notable that the difference in perceptions of urban and rural women towards the importance of culture is extremely small. There is hardly any difference and both (urban and rural women) find cultural values to be important.

Table 4.5 Cross-tabulation: Importance of cultural and values by area

		Area		
		Urban	Rural	Total
How important are culture and values to you?	Important	90.1%	87.7%	89.2%
	Not very important	7.2%	9.9%	8.1%
	Not at all important	2.8%	2.5%	2.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .113***

Table 4.6 reveals the data for the importance of culture and values by level of education. On the whole again, the data depicts that culture and values are quite important, as over 80% in all categories of education note that cultural values are important. While there is not a linear

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relationship between the importance of cultural values and level of education, on the whole the data for women who view culture and values as important tend to decrease as women's levels of education increase. In this regard, women who have received no formal schooling was an outlier because they do not always fall within this trend. This is as more primary and secondary educated women noted that culture and values are important (96.1% and 89.4% respectively) compared to 83.9% of women with no formal schooling. Furthermore, 16.1% of these women find that culture and values are not very important, which is more than primary, secondary and tertiary-educated women. The data for women with no formal schooling may not follow the trend as stated above, considering it might be that these women did not fully understand the question.

Furthermore, none of the women with no formal schooling and none with some form of primary schooling indicated that culture and values are not important at all. While 3.1% of secondary schooling women and slightly more (3.7%) tertiary-educated women indicated that culture and values are not important at all. Considering that the majority of women in all categories of education find culture and values to be important and since very few of the women (in all categories) noted that cultural values are not important at all, hypothesis two of this study is also rejected. This is mainly because the majority of women despite their level of education highlight cultural values as important. Only a very small association can be observed between the importance of culture and level of education, as the weak correlation indicates that as women's level of education increase, the importance of culture tends to decrease. However, as mentioned the largest percentage of women who do not find culture to be very important have had no formal schooling, which, is an outlier in this regard again, I anticipate it is because these women may have not fully understood the question being asked or because there was a problem with the question.

Therefore, when it comes to the importance of culture and values and urban-rural locality and level of education, it can be concluded that there is no observable difference in women's attitudes. On the whole, South African women regard cultural values as important. Thus, in this case locality and level of education did not shape women's perceptions therefore, the hypotheses were rejected. Thus, the importance of cultural values to women will not be discussed further in relation to this study's independent variables. However, Chapter Five will provide greater detail as to why culture is so important to South African women, which will aid in understanding why there may not necessarily be a difference in women's perceptions based on their urban-rural locality or based on their level of education.

Table 4.6 Cross-tabulation: Importance of culture and values by level of education

		Level of Education				
		No formal schooling	Primary schooling	Secondary schooling	Tertiary education	Total
How important are your culture and values to you?	Important	83.9%	96.1%	89.4%	83.6%	89.2%
	Not very important	16.1%	3.9%	7.4%	12.7%	8.1%
	Not at all important	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	3.7%	2.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Kendall's tau-c = .036***

4.4 Research Question Two

Research question two looks at the effect of urban-rural locality on culture and gender equality. This study hypothesises that rural women have significant traditional cultural contexts, therefore, will hold positive attitudes towards culture even though they may sometimes violate women's rights. Contrastingly, women residing in urban areas are less inclined to support cultural practices, where men and women are not considered equal. The second research question is: *What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and urban-rural locality?* The two hypotheses for this question are as follows (hypotheses three and four of this study):

Hypothesis three: Rural will hold more positive views of culture and cultural traditions.

Hypothesis four: Urban women will show greater intolerance towards cultural practices when it infringes individuals' basic human rights and undermines principles of gender equality.

4.4.1 Gender Equality and Locality

After doing a factor analysis, five indicators were identified from question 11 of the survey, to measure gender equality for this research study. The indicators (question items) which had the highest score and which loaded onto one factor were used. The factor loading score for the chosen items were as follows: question 11B = .633, question 11D = .623, question 11I = .688, question 11L = .604, question 11Q = .557.

Table 4.7 shows urban and rural women's attitudes towards certain gender stereotypes. The data in Table 4.7 shows that when it comes to political leadership, an overwhelming majority (70%) of urban women disagree that men make better political leaders than women do, while significantly fewer rural women disagree with this same view (56.0%). Similar findings, when it comes to business executives are observed. More urban than rural women (68.9% versus 52.8% respectively) also disagree that men make better business executives than women do. Therefore, when it comes to political leadership and business executives it can be discerned, that few women (urban and rural) agree that men perform better as political leaders and business executives than women do. The negative correlation coefficients[18] are a further indication that more rural than urban women tend to agree that men make better political leaders and better business executives than women do. The correlation for political leadership is weak, while the correlation for business executives is slightly higher. Yet, both of these findings are extremely significant.

The next indicator in Table 4.7 reveals women's views towards males as the head of households. It is evident that 68.1% of rural women agree that men should always be the head of a household, compared to a small 53.8% of urban women who agree with this same sentiment. The negative correlation[19] in this regard, also means that rural rather than urban women are likely to agree that men should always be the head of a household. This small correlation is very significant and valid.

The second last indicator measuring gender equality looks at who should have the right to a job when jobs are scarce. The data in the table reveals that the majority of urban and rural women disagree that when men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce. Urban women disagree slightly more with this statement than rural women, 73.2% urban versus 69.9% rural. The correlation coefficient[20] is negative, consequently supporting the finding that more urban than rural women disagree that men should have more claim to a job than women when jobs are scarce. However, while this finding is extremely significant, the association between the right to a job and women's locality is considerably small.

The last indicator in Table 4.7 measuring gender equality highlights attitudes towards how women are being fulfilled. A good majority (66.2%) of urban women disagree that a woman

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[18] Question 11B – Gamma = -.294*** and question 11D – Gamma = -.329***. The stars (***) speaks to the significance of the summary statistic. As a rule of thumb for this study, the following will be used: * p <.05,   ** p <.01, *** p <.001.

[19] Question 11I – Gamma = -.295***

[20] Question 11L – Gamma = -.080***

should have a child to be fulfilled, even the majority (57.6%) of rural women also disagree with this statement. Thus more urban than rural women disagree with the idea that a woman has to have a child to be fulfilled. This analysis is further strengthened by the negative correlation coefficient[21], which means that rural rather than urban women will agree that a woman has to have a child to be fulfilled. While this finding is also considered weak it is very significant and valid.

Table 4.7 Cross-tabulation: Indicators measuring gender equality by locality

	Gender Equality (Q11)			
	Urban Women		Rural Women	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Q11B: On the whole men make better political leaders than women do.	30.0%	70.0%	44.0%	56.0%
Q11D: On the whole men make better business executives than women do.	31.1%	68.9%	47.2%	52.8%
Q11I: Men should always be the head of a household.	53.8%	46.2%	68.1%	31.9%
Q11L: When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.	26.8%	73.2%	30.1%	69.9%
Q11Q: A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled.	33.8%	66.2%	42.2%	57.6%

4.4.2 Culture and Locality

After a factor analysis was conducted, six indicators from question 24 of the survey were identified to measure culture and cultural values for this research study. As with gender equality, indicators (question items) which had the highest score and loaded onto one factor were used. The factor loading score for the chosen items for culture were as follows: question 24C = .656, question 24D = .644, question 24F =.698, question 24J = .624, question 24M = .629, question 24P = .616.

The first indicator looks at whether a woman should listen to her husband. For this, the data revealed an overwhelming majority of urban and rural women agree (78.0% urban and 81.6% rural) that a woman should listen to her husband. Urban women slightly disagreed a bit more

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[21]Question 11Q – Gamma = -.180***

with this statement. The negative correlation coefficient[22] indicates that rural women are more likely, than urban women, to agree that a woman should listen to her husband. It is a weak but significant finding.

The following indicator investigates attitudes towards women and their last name after marriage. In this case, again, both urban and rural women agree that women should take their husband's last name when they get married. However, in this regard, slightly more urban than rural women agree with this statement (79.9% urban and 73.9% rural). Very few women (urban and rural) disagree that women should take their husband's last name when they get married. The positive correlation coefficient[23] indicates that urban rather than rural women concur that a husband's last name ought to be taken by his spouse when they get married. This is also a very weak but significant correlation.

The next factor in Table 4.8 looks at women and traditional leaders. In this case, more than half of both urban and rural women agree that women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. However, the more important finding in this regard relates to the disagree category. It can be observed that 33.6% of urban women versus 22.3% of rural women disagree that women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak, thus there is over 10% difference between the two groups that disagree. The correlation coefficient[24] is negative, which means that more rural than urban women will agree that women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. This association is small but quite significant and valid.

The following factor looks at men and traditional leaders. The data in Table 4.8 reveals that again a good majority of women, 81.2% rural and 73.3% urban, agree that men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. Notably few urban and rural women disagree that men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. The negative correlation coefficient[25] again indicates that more rural than urban women will agree that men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. This is a weak but valid finding. It can thus be said, that rural women feel stronger than urban women, about obedience towards traditional leaders.

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[22]Question 24C – Gamma = -.109***
[23]Question 24D – Gamma = .169***
[24]Question 24F – Gamma = -.277***
[25]Question 24J – Gamma = -.225***

The next factor draws attention to virginity testing. The data in Table 4.8 shows that 66.1% of rural women compared to 57.1% of urban women agree that women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture. Thus, 9% more rural than urban women agree with this statement. There was also considerable disagreement towards this issue from urban women (42.9%). This is further supported by the negative correlation[26] which means that more urban women will disagree that women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture. The association between women and virginity testing is quite small, but the finding is extremely significant.

The final indicator measures the role of traditional leaders in society. From table 4.8, it is evident that a good majority of urban and rural women agree that traditional leaders play an important role in society. Slightly more urban than rural women (70.0% versus 65.2% respectively) agree that traditional leaders play an important role in society. Whilst few women (urban and role) disagree with this statement. The correlation coefficient[27] is a positive one, thus indicating that more urban than rural women agree that traditional leaders play an important role in society. This correlation is weak but very significant.

Table 4.8 Cross-tabulation: Indicators measuring culture by locality

	Culture (Q24)			
	Urban Women		Rural Women	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Q24C: In your culture a woman should listen to her husband.	78.0%	22.0%	81.6%	18.4%
Q24D: Women should take their husband's last name when they get married.	79.9%	20.1%	73.9%	26.1%
Q24F: Women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak.	66.4%	33.6%	77.7%	22.3%
Q24J: Men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak.	73.3%	26.7%	81.2%	18.8%
Q24M: Women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture.	57.1%	42.9%	66.1%	33.9%
Q24P: Traditional leaders play an important role in society,	70.0%	30.0%	65.2%	34.8%

[26]Question 24M – Gamma = -.189***
[27]Question 24P – Gamma = .108***

4.4.3 Data Analysis

Research question two focused on the first important factor of this research study, urban-rural locality in relation to gender equality and culture. When it came to the indicators measuring gender equality, the data shows that for political leadership and business executives, there was much more disagreement from urban women than rural women that men make better political leaders than women. Furthermore, significantly more rural than urban women agree that men should always be the head of a household. On the topic of job scarcity, the majority of urban and rural women disagree that men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce. Finally, slightly more urban than rural women also disagree that a woman needs to have children to be fulfilled.

Thus, from Table 4.7, it is evident that there is a clear gap between urban and rural women's views towards gender equality. This is as higher percentages of urban than rural women tend to support gender equality. It is, however, imperative to note that although more urban than rural women support equality, there was also great support for gender equality from rural, women as displayed in the data. The only exception is observed with traditional leadership as only very few (31.9%) rural women disagreed that men should always be the head of the household. This can be an indication that rural women are more accepting of traditional sex roles when it comes to the private sphere of the home. However, in general, the data shows that urban women are more intolerant of issues which undermine principles of gender equality. This conclusion is also supported by the summary statistic of each indicator for locality and gender equality.

When it came to culture and locality, the data revealed that most urban and rural women agree that a woman should listen to her husband in their culture. Whilst, for the next indicator, the data showed that more urban women feel that a woman should take her husband's last name after getting married. However, for the following indicator, a lot more rural than urban women agree that women should listen to traditional leaders while more urban than rural women agree that men should listen to traditional leaders. Thus urban women feel more strongly that men should listen to traditional leaders. When it came to virginity testing, the data showed that a little more urban than rural women disagree that women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture. The last indicator shows that slightly more urban than rural women agree that traditional leaders play an important role in society.

Thus, for culture, there were some mixed attitudes from urban and rural women, but on the whole it is evident that most women (urban and rural) depicted support for culture as it was

only the minority of women who did not. Furthermore, the second biggest gap in attitudes involved virginity testing (women's obedience towards traditional leaders Q24F, saw the biggest gap in attitudes for this category), as 9% more urban than rural women disagree that women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture. Therefore, it can be concluded that urban women may be less tolerant than rural women of harmful cultural practices (like virginity testing). While the summary statistic for each indicator support the idea that rural women are more sympathetic toward culture than urban women, it is important to highlight that many urban women showed support for traditional leadership, as seen from the three indicators concerning traditional leadership. This points to a hybridity of women accepting gender equality but also supporting culture, even if they may in some cases conflict.

Therefore, when reflecting on hypothesis three and four of this study, urban women were more supportive of gender-equal principles than rural women, but at the same time, many rural women still showed support for gender equality. When it came to culture, the data showed that rural women were quite accepting of culture and tradition. This is as urban women displayed more intolerance towards cultural practices which infringe on individuals' human rights, than rural women on some indicators. In this regard, only two of the five variables contradict my hypotheses (where urban women were tolerant than rural women) as more urban than rural women agree that women should take her husband's last name after marriage (question 24) and more urban that rural women agree that traditional leaders play an important role in society (question 24P). This emphasises the idea of hybridity in terms of women supporting cultural values along with gender equality. The notion of hybridity can account for women accepting cultural values and traditions as well as recognising gender equality.

In contrast to the rural space, which perpetuates the existence of cultural values, Fischer (1975:420) stresses that the urban space is largely linked to deviance from traditional and cultural values. According to Fischer (1975:421), the large urban space results in the formation of deviant subcultures and these subcultures adopt and advance new values and perspectives, and they do so much faster than their rural counterpart. As urban spaces are usually big with many different types of people living within the area, there is a move away from traditional values and a rise in moral deviance as people influence one another and in doing so adopt other views and perspectives on issues. Therefore, urban women in South Africa are more likely to deviate from cultural traditions, especially when it challenges principles of gender equality since they are exposed to many different people with different

viewpoints. This may be because the large heterogeneous urban space may challenge South African women to think differently and thereby adopt different perspectives from their rural counterpart. Hypothesis three and four of this study can therefore find support.

4.5 Research Question Three

Research question three investigates the effect of level of education on culture and gender equality. This study hypothesizes that less-educated women who do not embrace emancipative and self-expression values will also not reject cultural traditions, even if they violate their human rights. In contrast, the study also hypothesizes that more educated women are more likely to hold emancipative values and, consequently, will not be as accepting of cultural practices which infringe of their human rights. The third research question is: *What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and level of education?* The two hypotheses for this question are as follows (Hypotheses five and six of this study):

Hypothesis five: Less-educated women who do not hold emancipative and self-expression values will not challenge traditional norms nor, are they likely to reject cultural practices which are not gender-equal.

Hypothesis six: Women who have higher education levels are more likely to embrace emancipative values, therefore will reject cultural traditions when they infringe on their human rights and challenge principles of gender equality.

4.5.1 Gender Equality and Level of Education

When it comes to level of education and gender equality, there were significant differences between women with different education levels. Table 4.9 shows that for political leadership, 74.5% of women who have not had any formal schooling agree that men make better political leaders than women while only 20.6% of women who have received some sort of, tertiary education agree that men make better political leaders than women do. More than half of the women with primary and secondary schooling disagree with this statement. The positive correlation coefficient[28] furthermore means that as a women's level of education increases, so too are they more likely disagree that men make better political leaders than women do. While this is a weak correlation, it is significant. Table 4.9 indicates similar findings of attitudes

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[28]Question 11B – Kendall's tau-c = .182***

towards male business executives. A good majority (74.6%) of women with no formal schooling agree that men make better business executives than women do. Again, more than half of the women with primary, secondary and tertiary education disagree that men make better business executives than women do. The correlation coefficient[29] is again positive, which means that as women's level of education increase so too are they less likely to agree that men make better business executives than women do, it is a weak but statistically significant finding.

The next indicator measuring gender equality in Table 4.9 is household heads. The data in the table reveals that many women with no formal schooling (81.9%) and primary schooling (75.8%) agree that men should always be the head of a household while only a small percentage of tertiary-educated women (36.7%) agree with this statement. There was, thus, significant disagreement from women with some sort of tertiary education. The correlation coefficient[30] is positive, therefore, indicating that the more educated women will disagree that men should always be the head of a household. This association is weak to moderate, yet it is very significant and valid to the broader population.

Job scarcity is the following indicator. Table 4.9 shows that more than half of the women in all four categories disagree that when jobs are scarce men should be chosen for a job opening, rather than women. There was significant disagreement among secondary and tertiary educated women,with 85.4% of tertiary educated and 72.1% of secondary educated women disagreeing that men should chosen for a job rather than women. The positive correlation coefficient[31] means that more educated women are more likely to disagree that men should have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce. This is a weak but very significant finding.

The last indicator measuring gender equality by the level of education in Table 4.9 investigates women's fulfilment. The data in the table reveals that 83.2% of women, who have some kind of tertiary education and 62.6% of women with secondary education, disagree that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled. In this regard, more than half (57.2%) of women with a primary schooling agree that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled. The correlation coefficient[32] is again positive, which means that higher educated women are more likely to disagree than less educated women that a woman has to

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[29]Question 11D – Kendall's tau-c = .161***
[30]Question 11I – Kendall's tau-c = .214***
[31]Question 11L – Kendall's tau-c = .134***
[32]Question 11Q – Kendall's tau-c = .192***

have children in order to be fulfilled. While this is a weak correlation, it is quite significant and valid to the broader population.

Table 4.9Cross-tabulation: Indicators measuring gender equality by level of education

Gender Equality (Q11)								
	No formal schooling		Primary Schooling		Secondary Schooling		Tertiary Schooling	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Q11B: On the whole men make better political leaders than women do.	74.5%	25.5%	48.2%	51.8%	33.5%	66.5%	20.6%	79.4%
Q11D: On the whole men make better business executives than women do.	74.6%	25.4%	41.9%	58.1%	37.6%	62.4%	19.3%	80.7%
Q11I: Men should always be the head of a household.	81.9%	18.1%	75.8%	24.2%	59.3%	40.7%	36.7%	63.3%
Q11L: When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.	38.6%	61.4%	40.7%	59.3%	27.9%	72.1%	14.6%	85.4%
Q11Q: A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled.	41.4%	58.6%	57.2%	42.8%	37.4%	62.6%	16.8%	83.2%

4.5.2 Culture and Level of Education

The next set of indicators in Table 4.10 measures women's attitudes towards culture by level of education. For the first indicator, the data reveals that more than 80% of women with no formal schooling, women with some standard of primary and secondary education agree that in their culture a woman should listen to her husband, while, significantly less (68.1%) women, with tertiary education, agree with this statement. Thus, there was more disagreement from tertiary-educated women. This is supported by the positive correlation coefficient[33], which indicates that the higher educated are more likely to disagree, that a woman should listen to her husband in their culture. Again, this is a very weak but quite significant finding.

The next indicator in Table 4.10 displays women's attitudes towards a woman's surname after marriage. On the whole, it can be concluded that women (in all four categories of education) agree that women should take their husband's last name when they get married. Most women

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[33]Question 24C – Kendall's tau-c = .078***

(91.5%) who have received some standard of primary schooling agree that a woman should take their husband's last name when they get married. There was more disagreement on this issue from women who have received no formal schooling with 36%, followed by 25.6% of tertiary-educated women also disagreeing on the matter. The positive correlation coefficient[34] again means that more educated women are more likely to disagree that women should take their husband's last name when they married. Although the correlation is very weak, it is significant.

The next two indicators measuring culture in Table 4.10 looks at the relationship of women and of men regarding traditional leaders. When it comes to women and traditional leaders, the data in the table reveals that a large majority (85.7%) of women who have received some standard of primary education agree that women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak, while only just over half (51.8%) of tertiary-educated women agree with this statement. In this regard, the disagreement came mostly from tertiary-educated women on this issue. The positive summary statistic[35] indicates that as women's level of education increases, they are more likely to disagree that women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. Whilst this association is relatively weak it is very significant. When it comes to men and traditional leaders, the data in Table 4.10 shows that 89.2% of women with no formal schooling, as well as women who have some standard of primary schooling, agree that men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. While, again, the least (58.7%) women from the tertiary-educated category, are agreeing with this statement. The summary statistic[36] is positive, meaning that less-educated women are more likely to agree than more educated women that men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. Thus, the data is quite similar for women's attitudes towards men and women's obedience to traditional leaders. This association is weak but again quite significant.

The second last indicator measuring cultural values in Table 4.10 is related to virginity testing. The data in the table reveals that 63.9% of women who have received some standard of primary schooling agree that women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture. More than half of the women who do not have any formal schooling and women, who have some primary schooling, agree with this statement. However, more than half (60.7%) of women who have received a tertiary education disagree that women should have their

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[34]Question 24D – Kendall's tau-c = .050***
[35]Question 24F – Kendall's tau-c = .148***
[36]Question 24J – Kendall's tau-c = .156***

virginity tested if it is part of their culture. The correlation coefficient[37] is again positive, thus indicating that as women's level of education increases, the more likely they are to disagree that women should have their virginity tested, if it is part of their culture. This association is again small, yet the finding is significant.

The last indicator in Table 4.10 looks at women's attitudes towards the role of traditional leaders. The data in the table show that most women agree that traditional leaders play an essential role in society. There was remarkable agreement from women who have received primary schooling (78.2%) followed by women with secondary schooling. 44.5% of tertiary-educated women disagree that traditional leaders play an important role in society. The positive correlation coefficient[38] means that less-educated women are more likely to agree than more educated women, that traditional leaders play an important role in society. While this correlation is very weak, it is significant and valid.

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[37]Question 24M – Kendall's tau-c = .122***
[38]Question 24P – Kendall's tau-c = .099***

Table 4.10Cross-tabulation: Indicators measuring culture by level of education

| | Culture (Q24) | | | | | | | |
| | No formal schooling | | Primary Schooling | | Secondary Schooling | | Tertiary Schooling | |
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Q24C: In your culture a woman should listen to her husband.	80.7%	19.3%	84.4%	15.6%	80.5%	19.5%	68.1%	31.9%
Q24D: Women should take their husband's last name when they get married.	64.0%	36.0%	91.5%	8.5%	76.5%	23.5%	74.4%	25.6%
Q24F: Women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak.	68.9%	31.1%	85.7%	14.3%	72.3%	27.7%	51.8%	48.2%
Q24J: Men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak.	89.2%	10.8%	89.2%	10.8%	77.1%	22.9%	58.7%	41.3%
Q24M: Women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture.	58.7%	41.3%	66.0%	34.0%	63.9%	36.1%	39.3%	60.7%
Q24P: Traditional leaders play an important role in society,	67.9%	32.1%	78.2%	21.8%	69.2%	30.8%	55.5%	44.5%

4.5.3 Data Analysis

Research question three highlights the second important factor of this study, level of education. For the indicators measuring gender equality, the data importantly reveals that a lack of education prevents women from questioning sexist stereotypes as women with higher education levels are more likely to disagree with stereotypes which depict men as superior to women. This is especially evident in the tertiary education category. Three significant variables support this conclusion: question 11D, I and Q. More than 80% of women who have received a tertiary education disagree with the perceptions that men make better business executives than women do, that men should have right to a job over women when jobs are

scarce and lastly that a woman has to have children to be fulfilled. The latter view is very significant seeing that this is indicative that women stop thinking of themselves as only mothers, alternately they challenge gender role stereotyping. For each indicator measuring gender equality, the summary statistic indicated that higher educated women are more intolerant of issues which place men's rights above women's rights. Therefore, when it comes to level of education and gender equality, it is already clear that education has a significant influence on women's views, especially in terms of gender stereotypes.

The data also revealed very similar findings for culture and level of education. The data shows that across most variables, level of education determines how women view a range of cultural issues. The data suggests that the more formal education a woman has, the more likely she is to reject cultural values, which clash with gender equality and undermine women's rights. This finding is especially evident in the tertiary education category. The following indicators specifically highlight this dynamic: question 24F, J, M and P. Close to half of the women who have received a tertiary education disagree that women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak, that men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak and that traditional leaders play an important role in society. While more than half (60.7%) of tertiary-educated women disagree with the view that women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture. In this regard, there was more disagreement on this issue from women with no formal schooling than primary and secondary educated women. A possible explanation for this finding is the prestige linked to virginity testing. In a study conducted on perceptions towards virginity testing on secondary school students in KwaZulu-Natal, the data revealed that more than half of the students accepted virginity testing as a beneficial custom whilst few noted that it was degrading (Taylor, Dlamini, Sathiparsad, Jinabhai, & De Vries, 2007:31). The data also revealed that the practice of virginity testing gave the girls a reason to be proud of themselves and 54.6% of the girls indicated that the practice, also gives mothers reason to be proud of their daughters (Taylor *et al*., 2007:31). Finally, the study concludes by noting that schools and education play an important role in encouraging safe-sex and multiple sexual partners (Taylor *et al*., 2007:31). Virginity testing, as a custom, may be encouraged in schools for girls to remain chaste and encourage safe sex and, therefore, can account for why primary and secondary schooling women are slightly more tolerant of the custom than women who have received no formal schooling.

Education is, therefore, an important factor in influencing women's views in terms of cultural values. The summary statistic for each factor measuring culture is indicative that level of

education greatly impacts women's attitudes, because as women's education increases so too do their intolerance towards gender unequal practices and traditions.

Inglehart and Norris (2003:9) investigated the rise of gender equality and culture in post-industrial economies and concluded that there are glacial shifts taking place whereby people move away from traditional principles towards a more gender-equal society. Inglehart and Norris (2003:9) highlight that these shifts are related to social development.[39] Inglehart and Welzel (2009:34) further explain that social development is linked to industrialisation and sees (amongst other things) greater urbanisation and rising education levels. Therefore, the above reflects the idea that growing education levels result in more support for gender-egalitarian principles. Furthermore, Inglehart and Welzel (2009:37) explain that the first phase of social development encompasses a move from traditional to secular-rational values. It is in this phase where women gain literacy, access to education and enter the paid labour force. Therefore, in the context of this study, it is observed that a vast majority (85.4%) of women, who have received tertiary education, disagree that when jobs are scarce men should have more right to a job than women, whilst 80.7% of tertiary-educated women also disagree that men make better business executives than women. This disagreement can be linked to the notion that women in South Africa are entering the paid labour force and demonstrating equal competence to men and therefore challenge these gender stereotypes.

Inglehart and Norris (2003:11) highlight that the shift from traditional to secular-rational values can be attributed to the decline of the traditional family. There is a decline in the traditional family because society is modernising as more people are gaining an education, moving to urban cities and becoming involved in political processes and as a result, there are transformations in traditional sex roles, family and marriage (Inglehart & Norris, 2003:12). They also (Inglehart and Norris, 2003:16) explain that pre-industrial societies emphasise childbearing, child-rearing as the primary goal of women, and pre-industrial societies tend to associate women with preserving the home and familial life. The data above also revealed that many South African women with a tertiary education disagreed that women have to have children in order to be fulfilled. This is an indication that as women gain education in South Africa, they tend to move away from thinking of themselves only as mothers. Furthermore,

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[39] This research study does not claim a social development theory, however, the results obtained are consistent with those that Inglehart and Norris (2003) obtained in their cross-national survey. Furthermore, the results obtained are also reflective of Maslow's hierarchy of needs [as explained by Dalton (1988)] which emphasises that individuals move through stages; by first aiming to meet basic material needs then moving to post-material needs. In this study, it can be seen that as women urbanise and gain higher education levels so too do they display greater support for gender equality.

the disagreement from tertiary-educated women in areas of job scarcity, political leadership, business executives and fulfilment, can also be an indication that as women gain an education, the more they are likely to pursue careers, get involved in the political process rather than being primarily concerned with childbearing. Inglehart and Welzel (2009:39) underline that education challenges traditional values and, consequently, there is a growing movement towards secular-rational and self-expression values.

Inglehart *et al*. (2002:10) articulate that the traditional-secular rational parallel represents a contrast between societies where religion and culture are still incredibly important, and where religion and culture is less important. That is also why the data concerning culture depicts that higher educated women are less inclined to accept cultural traditions when they undermine gender equality. Inglehart and Welzel (2009:40) note that traditional societies,where people are not as educated, stress the importance of religion and culture, obedience, respect for authority, however, these values change as societies become more secular-rational. This can account for why women in South Africa who have received tertiary education, are less likely to agree that men and women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak and that traditional leaders play an important role in society. These tertiary-educated women may have accepted more secular-rational values rather than traditional values, which stress obedience and authority.

The last important dynamic accounting for the difference in South African women's attitudes towards culture and gender equality is another shift from survival to self-expression and emancipative values. Inglehart and Norris (2003:11) describe the rise of a post-industrial society (second wave of social development), which encourages gender equality. Inglehart *et al*. (2002:13) explain that in the past women's lives were limited to being a wife, mother and running a household. While, social development, which is characterised by rising education levels, and urbanisation has also resulted in the rise of post-industrialist society, encouraging self-expression values. Inglehart *et al*. (2002:14) find that a post-industrialist society is characterised by a transformation in women's education, sexual behaviour, fertility rates and general worldviews. Furthermore, Inglehart *et al*. (2002:14) state that is a result of these transformations that women have moved away from subordination to more gender-equal principles. Consequently, South African women have adopted self-expression values and will reject traditions where women are placed in an inferior position, as well as where women's rights are undermined. This is seen in the 60.7% of tertiary-educated women, who disagree

that women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture, and are also in disagreement towards obedience towards traditional leadership.

Therefore, level of education is quite an important factor affecting women's attitudes in terms of gender equality and culture. The data shows that as education increases, women are more likely to show resistance towards issues which favour men above women. Furthermore, it can also be concluded that less-educated women are more accepting of culture and traditions that undermine women's rights and gender equality. Consequently, hypothesis five and six of this study are supported.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the data on women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture by urban-rural locality and level of education. The data analyses show that when it comes to urban-rural locality rural people tend to be more embedded in culture and tradition and therefore, displayed more positive views of culture. Contrastingly, urban women raised concerns about gender equality. Nevertheless, for urban-rural locality, hybridity is an important concept to take note of. As it can be argued that the women in South Africa live hybrid lives, as they expressed concern for gender equality, culture and tradition. Furthermore, level of education is quite a significant variable influencing women's views towards gender equality and tradition. Higher educated women supported gender-equal principles and rejected sexist stereotypes, and they are more reluctant to accept cultural traditions, which undermine women's rights, as they have come to adopt more self-expression and emancipative values. The next chapter will focus on discussing and interpreting the findings presented in this chapter in the context of South Africa in order to aid in finally answering the overarching research question.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provides an analysis of the attitudinal survey data in order to answer the research questions. This chapter aims to interpret the findings outlined in Chapter Four, and provide a contextual analysis of the South African case whilst locating the study in the broader international literature. Therefore, this chapter will discuss the context and implications of the influence of both urban-rural locality and level of education on South African women's attitudes towards culture and gender equality. The discussion will be structured according to the three research questions of this study. The key contributions of the research study are noted thereafter, followed by recommendations for future studies. It ends with a conclusion to the study.

5.2 Discussion of the findings

The following sections provide a summary of the findings as well as an in-depth discussion of the data gathered in Chapter Four in the context of South Africa.

5.2.1 Research Question One

The first research question investigates the extent to which urban-rural locality and level of education shape women's views about the importance of culture. The first research question is: *How important is culture to South African women?* The data reveals that urban-rural locality does not shape women's perceptions on the importance of culture. The overwhelming majority of both urban and rural women indicate that culture and values are important and very few women across urban and rural locations indicate that culture and values are not important at all. Similar findings show for the effects education levels on perceptions about the importance of culture. The majority of women, despite their level of education, indicate that culture and values are important. Therefore, the study did not find support for hypothesis one and two – which expected some differences across the two independent variables.

It is worth briefly reflecting on why cultural values are important to the majority of South African women, irrespective of their urban-rural locality and level of education. According to Usborne and De La Sablonnière (2014:437), culture is considered a crucial element in the formation of an individual's identity. Culture guides an individual on how to be a person in the world, and it can provide insights on what is required for a good life, how to interact with

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other people, and it also sheds light on what is important in life. In the context of South Africa, culture is considered important by most women since most people, and particularly women living under customary law, are identified by their culture. Moreover, for women, there is a certain prestige linked to particular cultural traditions and, therefore, it is considered important to them (Walker, 1992:57).

For example, in a study conducted on African people's attitudes towards the institution of *lobola* (the bride price) in Durban, the results showed that the majority of the people supported the custom, even though the custom has been contested as discriminatory (Walker, 1992:57). Walker (1992:57) highlights that the custom was supported by men and women, as well as rural and urban people. Furthermore, Walker (1992:57) explains that in this study many rural women indicated that *lobola* does not make them feel oppressed, but the women gladly perceive the custom in a positive light and consider it a part of their heritage. Likewise, in an investigation of attitudes towards virginity testing in KwaZulu-Natal, the data reveal that girls perceive virginity testing as a positive custom. Furthermore, it gave girls a reason to be proud of themselves (Taylor *et al*., 2007:31). Consequently, many women in South Africa, especially those living under customary law, speak with pride of their culture and it is, therefore understandable that women are likely to consider culture and values to be important.

The importance of culture in South Africa can also be attributed to its colonial and Apartheid history. Rautenbach (2010:144) articulates that customary law in South Africa resulted from injustices from colonial rule, while Wall (2015) highlights that it was after colonisation that customary law in South Africa gained more recognition. Maimela (2019:1) underlines that the colonisers labelled the indigenous people, of South Africa, way of life (cultural practices) as "barbaric" and, therefore, developed a common law system. As a result, Black South Africans continued to live under customary law as they considered it a way of life that could bring about social cohesion among the people (Maimela, 2019:1). Gouws (2014:42) explains that "codified" customary law was an official version of African customs that arose as a result of "destabilizing social and political changes" and also in response to them. But codification made culture very static and difficult to change.

After colonisation, the racial system of Apartheid was implemented in South Africa. During this period, there was a separation of different ethnic groups, and people were forced to live according to their cultural values in contained Bantustans (Rautenbach, 2010:143). This resulted in the establishment of group identities, which are still advanced today (Rautenbach, 2010:143). Therefore, it can be concluded that due to South Africa's deeply divided past,

(from colonisation and Apartheid), cultural groups and cultural identities were reinforced and deeply socialised within communities. And even today people continue to live by these practices, because of limited cultural integration in rural areas. It is therefore not surprising that women, irrespective of their urban-rural status and level of education, continue to regard cultural values as important in post-Apartheid South Africa.

5.2.2 Research Question Two

The second research question aims to highlight the effect of urban-rural locality on women's attitudes towards culture and gender equality. The second research question is: *What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and urban-rural locality?* For this question, the data was presented according to two important themes: gender equality and cultural values.

The findings in Chapter Four show a distinct gap in attitudes between urban and rural women and perceptions regarding gender equality and cultural values. While both urban and rural women demonstrate support for gender equality, it is urban women who tend to show more support for gender equality. In South Africa, urban and rural communities differ, because of more extensive social development in urban areas, and therefore, it is expected that rural and urban women may have different perceptions of certain gender-related issues.

Evans (2014) explains that urban African people are more likely than rural people to favour girls' education and women's labour force participation, as well as women's participation in political processes (indicators of gender-egalitarian principles). Evans (2014) attributes the difference between urban and rural people to the higher population densities in urban areas, which facilitates exposure to modernising influences and association across cultural boundaries. In urban areas there is exposure to individuals, who are counter-stereotypical as they demonstrate equal competence to men (Evans, 2014.). Furthermore, by association, women in urban areas reflect on one another's experiences and so too influence one another (Evans, 2014). Thus, as noted in Chapter Two, urbanisation promotes female empowerment as women are characterised by independence, economic attainment and better economic opportunities (Bello-Bravo, 2015:2). South Africa has a large (and growing) heterogeneous urban population. There are many different types of people concentrated in various urban areas, who have different ways of living as well as different attitudes towards controversial issues such as gender equality, and accordingly, influence one another.

For culture and urban-rural locality, the data again reveals that the majority of both urban and rural women maintained support for culture, it was only a minority of women who did not. However, the correlation coefficients indicate that rural, rather than urban women, are more likely to be accepting of culture. Rural areas in South Africa are mainly traditional. Furthermore, people who live in more traditional settings tend to be more inclined to accept cultural traditions, whilst women who reside in more modernised conditions (urban areas) will challenge cultural values.

In a study investigating gender and cultural tradition, conducted on rural black women in South Africa, a woman speaking on the custom of *lobola* emphasised the importance of the custom and that it cannot be abolished and will likely remain a tradition for many years (Shope, 2006:65). The importance of the custom is given further impetus as the woman from the study, distinctly notes that people residing in rural areas do not show resistance to the tradition (Shope, 2006:65). Furthermore, Shope (2006:65) highlights that the custom has existed for so long given its widespread support and its ability to adapt to the changing social and political context (Shope, 2006:665). Therefore, it can be said that rural people, men and women, greatly value their cultural traditions and values.

As mentioned, the data from this research study shows that there is a significant gap in attitudes between urban and rural women towards virginity testing. Rural women demonstrate more support toward culture. These findings can be accounted for by the value that rural women attribute toward culture, as seen in the example of *lobola*. Contrastingly, urban women (although there are urban women who support lobola) are more likely to have a progressive value perspective and are less likely to support cultural practices when it undermines principles of gender equality. Shope (2006:66) explains that rural black women in the study continuously highlighted the "richness of tradition", as it is found to be a source of identity and a connection to family.

While the data for research question two largely supports the related hypotheses that rural women will hold more positive views of culture and tradition than urban women, the data is not wholly conclusive. The data indicates a significant portion of rural women also show support for gender equality and values whilst there was some support culture and tradition (and gender equality) from urban women. This points to the notion of hybridity. In her research on *lobola* in Zimbabwe and virginity testing in South Africa, Ncube (2018:147) also found that her respondents live hybrid lives in that they practice and respect *lobola* in Zimbabwe and virginity testing in South Africa whilst also attributing importance to human

rights. This research observes similar findings among women. Hybridity is, therefore, an important concept to consider in the context of multiculturalism in post-colonial states, as people in South Africa simultaneously emphasise the importance of culture and tradition as well as gender equality and rights.

5.2.3 Research Question Three

The third and final research question investigates the influence that level of education has on attitudes towards culture and gender equality. The third research question is: *What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and level of education?* Again, the findings are presented according to the two primary aspects of the study: gender equality and culture.

From the data presented in Chapter Four, it is evident that level of education plays a significant role in influencing women's perceptions of culture and gender equality. Overall, women with higher education levels are more likely to recognise and support gender equality values. Thus, where culture conflicts with principles of gender equality, more educated women are less accepting of cultural traditions that undermine gender equality.

In their study on the global rise of gender equality and culture, Inglehart and Norris (2003:9) argue that the shift from traditional values towards more gender-equal principles is linked to the process of social development. Przeworski and Limongi (1997:158) define social development as a gradual differentiation and specialisation of social structures. According to Przeworski and Limongi (1997:158) social development includes (amongst other things) industrialisation, urbanisation, mobilisation, rising education and political corporation. Inglehart and Baker (2000:20) note that one of the key processes of social development is industrialisation, as it produces pervasive cultural and social consequences, including higher education levels and changing gender roles, which is important for this research question.

According to Stokes and Harris (1978:252), South Africa is regarded as an industrialised nation since the economic growth in the country increased, and there was a shift from an agrarian society to a manufacturing society. Steyn (2002:45) notes that education levels in South Africa have improved since 1990 with increases in literacy levels across the population. Steyn (2002:44) also highlights that education plays an essential role in influencing an individual's values. Inglehart (1977:9) explains that highly educated people tend to be more liberal, less ethnocentric, less authoritarian and more interested in politics. Furthermore,

Inglehart and Norris (2003:160) found that more educated individuals are more likely to hold emancipative and progressive values as they display stronger support for gender equality and proved to be less religious. Therefore, education is important in shaping attitudes, and this evident from the data presented in Chapter Four.

The data reveals that the majority of women in South Africa disagree that men make better business executives than women and that men should be considered first for a job, rather than women. In terms of the labour force, data for South Africa shows that not only have more people entered the labour market, but more women have entered the labour market to the extent that women as a portion of the economically active population have increased (Casale & Posel, 2002:156). International literature refers to the "feminisation of the labour force", which is used to describe the increase in women's share of the labour force, as well as an increase in women's share of employment (Casale & Posel, 2002:158). South Africa has over the decades, also experienced the feminisation of the labour force accounted for only 23% of the labour force in 1960, rising to 36% in 1985, reaching 41% by 1991 and is reported to have increased to 45% in 2020 (South Africa Labour Force Female, 2020). Casale and Posel (2002:172) explain that the feminisation of labour in South Africa is due to rising education levels and decreased fertility rates. This means that as women gain an education, they want to acquire employment and become self-sufficient. It is reflective of the first phase of social development, as explained by Inglehart and Welzel (2009). This could be an indication that women start to move from traditional values (where women stay home and preserve the familial life) towards more secure rational values. Therefore, women will hold more positive views of female business executives and aspire to upward mobility. It can also account for why so many women disagree that men should have more right to a job when jobs are scarce (but can also be linked to the fact that there are more single-parent, women-headed households in South Africa, so women have to work to maintain families).

This shift from traditional to secular-rational values is also observed in that most women also disagree that women have to have children in order to be fulfilled. This could be an indication that women stop thinking of themselves only as mothers. Inglehart and Norris (2003:16) underline childbearing as the primary goal of women in traditional societies. However, more educated women do not share these views.

The data in Chapter Four further suggests that the higher the level of formal education a woman has in South Africa, the more likely she is to question cultural values that are seen to undermine gender equality. For example, it is evident that when it comes to traditional

leadership, these women do not agree that traditional leaders play an important role in society, nor do they agree with the notion of obedience to authority. Furthermore, when it came to cultural traditions, better-educated women also display more intolerance of virginity testing. In South Africa, traditional leadership (customary institutions)[40] discriminate against women and, therefore, women have continued to lobby against the constitutional protections of traditional authorities (Andrews, 1998:326). Andrews (1998:326) maintains that traditional institutions are hierarchical and patriarchal, as a succession to the office for the chief tribal leader is hereditary and with this, the hereditary rule state that only male heirs can become chiefs. Therefore, this helps to shed light on why more educated women tend to view traditional leadership with less positivity. Furthermore, traditional customs (such as virginity testing) usually infringe on the rights of women. Virginity testing is a practice which fell into disuse however, the practice became popular again after South Africa became a democracy (also the same time when the HIV/AIDS pandemic began) when virginity testing put the responsibility of safe sex on the shoulders of women (Vincent, 2006:17). Scorgie (2002:55) explains that virginity testing has come under significant scrutiny as it violates girls' right to privacy and violates girls' right to control their bodies. Nevertheless, the practice of virginity testing in South Africa has been described as important and necessary. However, the data shows there is resistance to the practice from women who have received some standard of tertiary education.

This shift in cultural attitudes can be linked to the rise of a gender-equal society in South Africa. According to Andrews (1998:323) South African women used their political skills, which they developed overtime to get involved in crucial debates regarding the protection of women's rights. Andrews (1998:323) highlights that women's organisations, female members of major political parties, women's trade unions and feminist activists lobbied for the incorporation of gender equality into the Constitution. The demands of women concerned a range of issues including, property, contractual and hereditary rights, which have been denied to women under African customary law and the South African legal system. Andrews (1998:324) adds that traditional leadership was an important area of concern as women deemed the right to participate in traditional and community courts as essential and they highlighted the importance of active participation in traditional institutions. While the women's demands encouraged freedom to practice their own culture religion and beliefs

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[40]See for example the Communal Land Rights Act that gave traditional leaders far reaching power in relation to the distribution of land.

without fear, it also states that culture and religion should be subject to equality as explained in the Bill of Rights (Andrews, 1998:324).

The rise of gender equality, especially with regards to culture, can be linked to the rise of a post-industrial society, the second wave of social development, as explained by Inglehart and Norris (2003:11). According to Inglehart *et al*. (2002:14), individuals who embrace progressive and emancipative values advance gender equality and hold different worldviews concerning women's education, sexual behaviour and fertility rates. These individuals are vocal about resistance towards patriarchy and emphasise women's empowerment (amongst other things). This can be linked to Dalton's argument on cognitive mobilisation. Dalton (1984:268) explains that young people tend to be more cognitively mobilised to deal with the complexities of politics, and this is mainly due to advanced industrialism, which has expanded educational opportunities. Dalton (1984:267) underlines that education, as an important source of cognitive mobilisation, also contributes to value change among individuals. Therefore, it is clear that education can, and does impact attitude formation. Thus, social development and the rise of a post-industrial society, and the associated increase in education levels can be regarded as one of the key explanations why women are moving away from guarding numerous cultural traditions that are perceived to undermine women's rights in South Africa.

5.3 Addressing the Main Research Question

The study's main research question is: *What is the influence of urbanisation and level of education on women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture?* To answer the overarching research question, three additional sub-research were developed.

Research question one: *How important is culture to South African women?*

Hypotheses:

1. Culture is more important to rural women than to urban women.
2. Less-educated women will attribute greater importance to cultural values than more educated women when cultural practices conflict with women's rights.

The data reveals that most South African women attribute great importance to cultural values irrespective of their level of education or geographic location. This is attributed mainly due to

the lasting effects of the country's colonial and Apartheid history that reinforced traditional values. Accordingly, hypotheses one and two of the study were rejected.

Research question two: *What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and urban-rural locality?*

Hypotheses:

3. Rural women will hold more positive views of culture and cultural traditions.
4. Urban women will show greater intolerance towards cultural practices when it infringes individuals' basic human rights and undermines principles of gender equality.

Research question two probed for differences in women's attitudes based on their urban-rural locality. The data revealed a gap in attitudes between urban and rural women. While both urban and rural women do show support for gender equality, urban women displayed greater levels of support. Furthermore, while both urban and rural women express support for cultural values, the data indicates that rural women are more supportive of cultural traditions, while urban women are less tolerant of values that undermine principles of equality. The study concludes that this is due to the value that rural women place on culture. In light of this, hypotheses three and four of this study are accepted.

Research question three: *What is the relationship between women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture and level of education?*

Hypotheses:

5. Less-educated women who are less likely to hold emancipative and self-expression values will not challenge traditional norms, nor are they likely to reject cultural practices which are not gender-equal.
6. Women who have higher education levels are more likely to embrace emancipative values, and will therefore reject cultural traditions when they infringe on human rights and challenge principles of gender equality.

The data shows that more educated women are more supportive of gender equality than less educated women, and are therefore more intolerant of cultural traditions that serve to undermine women's rights. This may be due to the effects of social development and the adoption of individualistic and emancipative values. In this regard, less educated women are still characterised by tradition and therefore demonstrated more support for culture, even

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though they sometimes infringe on the rights of women. Accordingly, the final two hypotheses of this study are also accepted.

The study therefore concludes that while cultural values remain important to South African women, urbanisation and levels of education have visible effects on their perceptions of gender equality and culture. Urban-rural locality had less of an influence on women's attitudes, while the level of education proved to be a significant variable in this study. In terms of locality, the notion of hybridity is a necessary consideration, as rural women displayed some support for gender equality whilst urban women were also found to be tolerant of culture and tradition. Furthermore, level of education proved to have a greater influence on women's attitudes in South Africa. Women with higher levels of education were more supportive of gender equality and showed more intolerance of culture and tradition, which violate women's rights. It can, therefore, be said that more educated women are more likely to challenge cultural traditions if they are perceived to clash with principles of gender equality.

5.4 Contributions of the Study

This study offers a Southern perspective of multiculturalism. This is particularly important since the study elucidated the difference between the multicultural debate in the global North and the global South. In doing so, it became evident that the culture rights debate is one that needs to be approached with caution in South Africa. Although tension exists between culture and rights in South Africa, cultural traditions originated as a result of the legacy of colonialism and Apartheid. And the notion of multiculturalism in the post-colonial South engages with the customs and traditions of the majority of the indigenous population and harmful practices and therefore cannot just simply be rejected without an intervention into culture.

In light of this, the study sought to probe women's perceptions of culture and gender equality since women are mostly affected by cultural practices. This research makes a valuable contribution to the study of multiculturalism in South Africa. The study shows the importance of the influence of urban-rural locality and level of education on women's attitudes in South Africa. It shows that in a society that is continuously changing and modernising there is also value change, as explained by Inglehart and Norris (2003), which can shape and influence perceptions about gender equality and culture.

5.5 Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of this research points to two significant gaps in the literature of multiculturalism in South Africa. Firstly, for urban-rural locality, the notion of hybridity is important to consider. The findings indicate that people live hybrid lives where they respect and accept cultural values, but also support gender equality. Therefore, it is worth investigating the concept of hybridity with regards to culture and gender equality in South Africa. The second important gap is the lack of literature that explores the influence of social development and the shift from traditional to secular-rational values, including the rise of emancipative and progressive values in South Africa, on perceptions of culture. This is an essential area of study since this and other research suggests that urbanisation and level of education have an impact on attitudes formation and value change. Probing the development of value change in developing countries can reveal changing attitudes and will help policy makers to better respond to related challenges. Furthermore, future studies can also investigate a comparison of male versus female attitudes towards gender equality and culture, this will help to shed light on the gender gap in attitudes regarding discourses on culture and rights. While this study focused on the effect of urban rural locality and level of education on attitudes, future studies can also investigate other factors for example; age and marital status and the effects thereof on attitudes towards gender equality and culture. This will not only help policy makers but it will help to identify which factors have significant impacts on attitudes which will ultimately help to better make sense of why certain groups of individuals hold certain perceptions.

5.6 Conclusion to the Study

As established in this study, there is a persistent tension between culture and rights in South Africa. In her argument, Okin concludes that multiculturalism negatively impacts women as some cultural practices violate women's rights. However, as elucidated, multiculturalism in post-colonial countries like South Africa is complicated. The tension between culture and rights in South Africa mostly relate to African customary law. However, the process of resolving multicultural conflict is complex. This is because South Africa is governed by legal pluralism, where common and customary law have equal standing. Furthermore, while gender equality is enshrined through the South African Constitution and in the Bill of Rights so too is the right to culture underlined in the Constitution. As women and women's rights are at the

centre of the clash between culture and rights, this study sought to explore women's attitudes toward gender equality and culture in greater detail.

This study focused on the influence of urbanisation and level of education of women's attitudes toward gender equality and culture. The main research question which this study aimed to answer is: what is the influence of urbanisation and level of education on women's attitudes toward gender equality and culture.

First, the data revealed that culture and values are important to South African women. In this regard, urban-rural locality and level of education did not affect women's perceptions about the overall importance of culture. This is because culture is linked to identity and for women in South Africa, culture contributes to the formation of identity. Furthermore, the importance of culture and values is also attributed to the South Africa's colonial and Apartheid past.

Secondly, in examining the influence of urban-rural locality, it is observed that rural people are more embedded in traditional cultural contexts and therefore demonstrated more support for cultural traditions. Contrastingly, urban women are more reluctant to support cultural values when they conflict with principles of gender equality. However, despite this finding, the data also revealed that urban and rural women live hybrid lives, as both display support for gender equality and cultural traditions to a certain degree.

Lastly, in this study, education proved to have a significant impact on women's attitudes. This is because women with more formal education express more support for gender equality, and are more likely to challenge cultural traditions which are not gender equal. It is concluded that this is because more educated individuals are more likely to progressive and emancipative values which emphasise the notion of gender equality. In contrast, less-educated women were more supportive of cultural traditions, even though it conflicts with women's rights as they have not been exposed to individualistic and emancipative values, therefore, still hold traditional values.

In conclusion, both urban-rural locality and level of education impacts South African women's attitudes towards gender equality and culture. This study does not disregard the importance of culture in South Africa. However, it is worth reflecting on the influence of these factors on women's attitudes especially because women are at the centre of the clash between culture and rights. Rural women in South Africa are still very traditional and therefore support cultural practices while urban women have showed less support. Furthermore, education is a crucial factor to consider. As countries continue to change and

modernise, education will continue to have an even stronger influence on women's attitudes. As women's education increases so too will their support for gender equality increase. On the whole, urbanisation as well as education is important to consider as social development sees greater urbanisation and higher education levels. Therefore, the effects urbanisation and education have on perceptions about gender equality and culture will become increasingly important to consider as South Africa continues to industrialise and modernise.

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Appendix A: Question Items and Coding Categories

Table 3.1 Questions used for section 3.4.2

Question number	Question
MET_UR	Area. (1) Metro (2) Urban (3) Rural Recoded into: (1) Urban (2) Rural
Q23:	How important are your culture and values to you? (1) Very important (2) Rather important (3) Not very important (4) Not at all important (98) Refused (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Important (2) Not very important (3) Not at all important (98) Refused (99) Don't know
Q38:	Respondent's sex (to eliminate men from the sample). (1) Male (2) Female
Q45:	What is the highest level of education you have completed? (0) No formal schooling (1) Some primary schooling (2) Primary school completed (3) Some secondary school / high school (4) Secondary school completed (Vocational or commercial school) (5) Secondary school completed / High school (I educational track) (6) Incomplete university education / Other post-secondary qualifications (7) University completed (8) Post-graduate (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) No formal schooling (2) Primary schooling (3) Secondary schooling (4) Tertiary schooling (98) Refused (99) Don't know

Table 3.2 Questions used for Research Question 1

Question number	Question
MET_UR	Area.

	(1) Metro (2) Urban (3) Rural Recoded into: (1) Urban (2) Rural
Q23:	**How important are your culture and values to you?** (1) Very important (2) Rather important (3) Not very important (4) Not at all important (98) Refused (99) Don't know Recoded into (1) Important (2) Not very important (3) Not at all important (98) Refused (99) Don't know
Q38:	**Respondent's sex(to eliminate men from the sample).** (1) Male (2) Female
Q45:	**What is the highest level of education you have completed?** (0) No formal schooling (1) Some primary schooling (2) Primary school completed (3) Some secondary school / high school (4) Secondary school completed (Vocational or commercial school) (5) Secondary school completed / High school (I educational track) (6) Incomplete university education / Other post-secondary qualifications (7) University completed (8) Post-graduate (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) No formal schooling (2) Primary schooling (3) Secondary schooling (4) Tertiary schooling (98) Refused (99) Don't know

Table 3.3 Questions used for research question 2 and 3: Gender Equality

Question number	**Question**
MET_UR	Area. (1) Metro (2) Urban (3) Rural Recoded into: (1) Urban (2) Rural
Q45:	What is the highest level of education you have completed? (0) No formal schooling

	(1) Some primary schooling (2) Primary school completed (3) Some secondary school / high school (4) Secondary school completed (Vocational or commercial school) (5) Secondary school completed / High school (I educational track) (6) Incomplete university education / Other post-secondary qualifications (7) University completed (8) Post-graduate (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) No formal schooling (2) Primary schooling (3) Secondary schooling (4) Tertiary schooling (98) Refused (99) Don't know
Q38:	Respondent's sex (to eliminate men from the sample). (1) Male (2) Female
Q11b:	On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q11d:	On the whole, men make better business executives than women do. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q11i:	Men should always be the head of the household. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q11l:	When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know

	Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q11q:	A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree

Table 3.4 Questions used for research question 2 and 3: Culture and Cultural Values

Question number	Question
MET_UR	Area. (1) Metro (2) Urban (3) Rural Recoded into: (1) Urban (2) Rural
Q45:	What is the highest level of education you have completed? (0) No formal schooling (1) Some primary schooling (2) Primary school completed (3) Some secondary school / high school (4) Secondary school completed (Vocational or commercial school) (5) Secondary school completed / High school (I educational track) (6) Incomplete university education / Other post-secondary qualifications (7) University completed (8) Post-graduate (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) No formal schooling (2) Primary schooling (3) Secondary schooling (4) Tertiary schooling (98) Refused (99) Don't know
Q38:	Respondent's sex(to eliminate men from the sample). (1) Male (2) Female
Q24c:	In your culture a woman should listen to her husband. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know

	Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q24d:	Women should take their husbands last name when they get married. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q24f:	Women should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q24j:	Men should listen and obey when traditional leaders speak. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q24m:	Women should have their virginity tested if it is part of their culture. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree
Q24p:	Traditional leaders play an important role in society. (1) Strongly agree (2) Agree (3) Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (98) Refused to answer (99) Don't know Recoded into: (1) Agree (2) Disagree